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MILITANT AND TRIUMPHANT SOCIALISM

CHARLES H. VAIL

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MILITANT AND TRIUMPHANT SOCIALISM

BY

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INTRODUCTORY DEFINITIONS

Militant and Triumphant Socialism

We must distinguish between Militant Socialism and Triumphant Socialism. Militant Socialism is a movement of the proletariat[1] class working within the confines of the present system to bring about the realization of Triumphant Socialism—a future state of society based upon the collective ownership and democratic management of the social means of production.

Scientific Socialism includes both Militant and Triumphant Socialism. I wish to set forth the fundamental principles of these two phases of Scientific Socialism.

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[1]By proletariat is meant those deprived of property in the instruments of production—the entire class of wage and salary workers, those engaged in "manual" and "intellectual" service.

PART I
MILITANT SOCIALISM

PRELUDE

Two Vital Philosophic Theories

Militant Socialism is based upon two important philosophical doctrines which owe their origin chiefly to Karl Marx, the economic theory of social progress and the theory of surplus value. The first is elaborated in chapters I-IV, the second in chapters V-VII.

CHAPTER I

The Chief Factor in Social Evolution

The Socialist Theory of Social Evolution is called Economic Determination or the Materialistic Conception of History.

Economic Determinism

These designations are not strictly accurate, as the former might seem to imply economic fatalism, and the latter philosophical materialism. Economic Determinism might lead some to think that the theory overlooked the material and spiritual elements and made the economic influence the sole factor, while the Materialistic Conception of History might seem to overlook the economic element altogether. But this would be an entire misconception. The theory is not fatalistic in character and does not overlook the human factor with all the complex elements common to man. It does not exclude ideas or ideals, which all will admit frequently exert a considerable influence in determining the changes in the social organism, although we need to trace these elements to their source in order to estimate aright their value. The theory merely teaches that social progress is chiefly determined by a change in the economic conditions —the methods of producing and distributing wealth. It is not claimed that the economic factor alone determines social progress, but only that it is the principal force back of the

historical development. As stated by Marx, "The economic condition is the basis, but the various elements of the superstructure—the political forms of the class contest, and their results, the constitutions—the legal forms, also all the reflexes of these actual contests in the brains of the participants, the political, legal, philosophical theories, the religious views—all these exert an influence on the development of the historical struggle, and, in many instances, determine their form."[2]

Neither does the theory overlook the influence of the geographical and historical conditions. It recognizes that a given system resting upon differences in these respects will produce different social forms. To fully understand a particular method of production at any given time we must study these natural conditions. A knowledge of the technical alone does not suffice. For example, the various forms of society which may arise on the peasant foundation are due to differences in the natural and social surroundings. However, the technical factor is the most important.

It is evident from the foregoing that the materialism here is not philosophical materialism—the theory that interprets all things in

[2]Quoted by Seligman in **The Economic Interpretation of History**, p. 142.

the terms of matter—but Historical Materialism.

The theory, then, does not negative the dream of Tennyson that there is in human life one

"Far off divine event
To which the whole creation moves."

It does not mean that there is no purpose, no aim, in social evolution. The law of Economic Determinism is the law of the Divine Method of human progress. The Socialist theory explains this method in history, as the Darwinian theory does in biology.[3]

Some have thought that the principle would be better expressed by the phrase, "Economic Interpretation of History." But it is difficult to select any term that in itself covers the whole ground and is not liable to be misunderstood.

Principle Stated

Let us now briefly consider just what the theory is. Frederick Engels, in the preface to the Manifesto of the Communist Party, states the principle in the following words: "In every historical epoch, the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organization necessarily

[3]The discovery of the method of progress does not warrant the conclusion that the process is without intelligent direction. Those who hold that evolution in the various departments of nature is guided

following from it, form the basis upon which is built up, and from which alone can be explained, the political and intellectual history of that epoch."

From the production of the first tools, which, on the material side, differentiated man from the animals, down to the latest inventions, it is the change in the technic which constitutes the chief and material cause of economic and social progress. Intelligence, of course, is presupposed, for every step forward on the path of technical advance is a conscious endeavor of man to increase his power over nature. But intelligence must be embodied in technical appliances before it can produce a change in the economic structure of society. And often the direction of consciousness is determined by the economic structure and the needs of man—the needs give rise to new discoveries which produce certain changes and new methods of life, which again produce new discoveries and lead in turn to new needs, etc.

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by the Divine Mind or the hosts of creative intelligences are not irrational in their position. The law of the survival of the fittest does not prove that in the vegetable and animal kingdoms intelligent powers may not utilize the struggle for existence to bring about variations and new types in accordance with a definite plan. So in social evolution, economic determinism may be the law utilized to secure human progress. At least the Socialist theory does not negative this conclusion—the theory is perfectly in accord with religious belief.

CHAPTER II

Economic Determinism in Ethics

The law of Economic Determinism also throws light upon an important phase of the ethical problem.[4] But before considering this question directly let us note that all morality is relative—it must be so because it is a question of relations. The right relation is moral; the wrong relation is immoral. The object of morality is to bring about happiness by the establishment of harmonious relations. What is good for one man may not be good for another, and what is good at one time may not be good at another time. Morality, then, is a relative science—relative to the man himself and to his surroundings.

Ethical Problem

Morality Relative

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[4]There are four recognized schools of morality —Intuitional, Utilitarian, Scriptural, and Religious. The Intuitional bases morality upon intuition—the dictates of conscience. The objection to this is that consciences vary with racial and national traditions, social customs and needs, individual development, etc., consequently it does not furnish a solid basis. The Utilitarian is based upon the greatest good to the greatest number. But this does not justify the exclusion of the minority from its canon and it fails to supply an impelling motive. Then the question of what is the greatest good to the greatest number is not self-evident but subject to debate, and so fails to furnish a sufficient guide. The Scriptural is based upon a claimed revelation from God. But there are many religions and many revelations and it is dif-

However low or high an individual may be in the scale of evolution, the idea of duty conveys the thought of an inner nature unfolding itself—evolving from the imperfect to the perfect. Now that is right which is in accord with the Divine Will in evolution, and that is wrong which impedes progress and hinders

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ficult to tell just which one is to be regarded as based upon Supreme authority. Then the record is by no means infallible. There is also a difficulty about moral standards founded upon a revelation given once for all. As a people evolve that which was suitable at one time becomes unsuitable at another. The Religious is closely connected with the Scriptural, although it is not dependent upon or confined to any sacred writings, but rests upon occult knowledge attained by men who have reached an advanced stage of development,—the Christs, Buddhas, etc. It affirms that the only basis of ethical science is to be found in religion—in the great spiritual fact of the Unity of the Spirit. I believe this is true. **Religion gives the ultimate data upon which a science of morality can be built.** The basis of morality is the recognition of the Unity,—the unity of all souls, all selves, in the One Universal Self,—and therefore right conduct consists in establishing helpful relations between all beings. It is in this unity of ultimate interests and identity of nature that the sanction of morality lies. We find here the basis of Universal Brotherhood—all separated selves are rooted in the Universal Self, are parts or reflections of the One. This Brotherhood, then, is a spiritual fact. All the principles of general morality are founded upon the recognition of this Unity—they are the rules of conduct designed to prevent us from in-

evolution. In the evolutionary process that which is right at one time becomes wrong at another. As to whether an act is right or wrong for any particular individual, depends on where he stands on the evolutionary ladder. And what is true of the individual is also true of social acts and social systems. As the tendency of evolution now is toward unity, it follows that that which makes for unity is right. Thus the standard of all true ethics is to unite and not to divide. Right and wrong, then, might be defined as a general rule thus: Right is that which helps another, wrong is that which injures another—both are relative to surrounding circumstances.

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juring others and ourselves, and conversely to aid us in doing good to ourselves and others. Just in proportion as our conduct accords with this fact we are moral. Some might include in the above list the Evolutionist; but evolution is not a school of morality and it has no bearing on the special phase of the question we are considering. The modern Evolutionist in tracing the evolution of the moral sense has rendered much service, but he is only dealing with the conditions that aid or hinder its development—the theory does not touch the origin of the moral sense or furnish a basis for ethics. In evolution we merely study the way in which the germ of life evolves. This life which comes from God contains everything in potency. The moral sense in common with all the powers of man has gradually developed through the process of evolution—step by step, these inherent qualities and powers have been brought out. Evolution is a study of the method of Divine procedure.

Now we will briefly consider the bearing of the law of Economic Determinism on ethics.

Economic Factor in Morals

The economic factor in morals plays an important part in determining the commonly accepted moral standards of every day practice—frequently subordinating or perverting the higher ethical ideals to subserve personal or class ends. We have seen that economic conditions create certain social needs and that these needs in turn create certain new conditions. But these conditions and needs also create certain moral ideas. The demands of the individual in society are so persistent that they become a habit and in the course of time are popularly recognized as moral commands. Purely conventional customs and fashions may also establish certain acts as moral, but the chief factor in determining conventional morality is the social needs. When rules are established as moral the conscience affirms obligation to obey.

New Moral Laws

As economic development advances, new social needs are created which demand new moral laws. These special laws are thus chiefly the product of the social nature of men—the precepts arise out of the social needs. We may not always be able to trace the social forms from which these moral conceptions arise, for the social causes may

reach back to primitive times. Some of these tenets through habit continue to exist even after the cause that produced them has disappeared. The new social system gives rise to certain new moral precepts—every form of society requires certain rules suited to its needs—and this often produces much confusion and causes the moral philosopher trouble to harmonize the conflicting tenets. Certain elements, then, in the accepted moral codes are constantly changing.

Ideal Moral Standards

These relative and changing standards are not apt to be fully in accord with the ideal ethics, but the fact that it is possible to compare and judge a concrete code of morals evidences that there must be such a standard of comparison. As a matter of fact ideal standards of ethics have existed in the moral philosophies and religions of ancient and modern times, and they have been practically identical in character. This of itself should evidence that there is something in man that transcends the material. Mr. Hillquit says, "The Socialists of the Marxian school . . . fully recognize that the moral sentiment is implanted in the normal being and capable of very high development even under adverse conditions. Instances of men and women rising above their class interests and sacrificing their material welfare, some-

times even their lives, in the service of their fellow-men, are of frequent, almost daily occurrence, and cannot be accounted for on any economic or materialistic theory. The Socialists also recognize that outside of the economic sphere of human activity, there is a large field of human interest, in which the individuals of all classes meet on common ground, and in which the moral conceptions correspond to the actual welfare of all mankind."[5] But this does not negative the fact that in a class organized and class ruled society the commonly accepted moral conduct is that which conserves the prevailing order.

Illustrations Class Ethics

If we fail to recognize the class character of much of our ethics we shall be utterly unable to account for many curious facts. For instance, in slavery days the system was regarded as a divine institution and the disloyalty of the slave was looked upon as rebellion against God. The virtues and vices of slaves and masters were opposite in each class —cowardice and humility were regarded as sterling virtues in the slave, while such traits in the master were a serious fault. We find an equally diverging standard today between the capitalist and laborer—what one regards as right the other looks upon as wrong. The laborers in their unions resort to certain meas-

[5] **Socialism in Theory and Practice,** Hillquit, p. 57.

ures to serve their ends which the capitalists think wrong, and vice versa, the capitalists employ means to further their interests which the laborers denounce as unjust. Both classes may be conscientious—they are viewing things from their material interests, and the ethics they recognize is the ethics of their class. Business men permit things in business which they would not think of doing in private life, or if they did society would not hold them guiltless. The wealthy of our corporations can slay their thousands through neglect in introducing proper safety appliances, and society does not hold them responsible, but let one man suffer outside of business from such negligence and those responsible would not escape censure. These illustrations might be indefinitely multiplied, but this will suffice to show the class character of such morality. There is what has been called a distinct "class-conscience" determined by class interests.

Proletariat Morality

The proletariat morality which the modern labor movement has formed is as yet a class morality. However, it is higher than the morality of the capitalist class, because it is the ethics of the class whose interests are in accord with progress—the class destined to supplant the present ruling class. We shall see later that the proletarian triumph will lead to the abolition of all classes and the

realization of the ideal morality—a morality based upon mutual service and social co-operation. Socialism will realize the ultimate standard of morality.

General Law Stated

We may say, then, that the economic structure of society is in a large way the determining factor in shaping the accepted moral standards of practical business life. The laws, customs, public opinions and moral idas are largely molded by the economic conditions, or by the class which the economic system makes the ruling class, whether the Patricians of ancient Rome, the Feudal Lords of the Middle ages, or the Capitalists of modern times. Whatever the abstract ideal standard may be, it is interpreted in accord with the interests of the ruling class. Thus the abstract ideas of justice, right, honor, etc., have ever varied in generally accepted meaning with the changing social systems. In every age the economic interests have perverted the great universal ethical ideals and set up a class ethics instead. The law of Economic Determinism is important in its bearing on ethical problems. It enables us to explain many curious anomalies that would otherwise be inexplicable.

CHAPTER III

Technical Economic Basis of Slavery

Let us now return to the main proposition —that each great historical change was preceded by new technical conditions, a change in the economic foundation, and that this made possible the social and political change that divided the world's history into epochs.

Main Proposition Again

Let us note a few illustrations of the working of this law as seen in the general sweep of human history.[6]

In primitive times when one tribe conquered another it had no use for its captives and so killed them—the cannibalistic tribe for food, the non-cannibalistic merely to get them out of the way. But in the course of time men gained power over the forces of nature to produce more than their keep, and it was soon discovered that it was more profitable to keep the captives alive and compel them to work, than to put them to death. Especially was this true in those advanced tribes that turned to the cultivation of the soil for subsistence. It was the economic change that led to the more humane treatment of

Origin of Slavery

[6]For specific instances I must refer the reader to the well known works of Marx, Engles, Kautsky, Spargo, Ghent, Simons, Hillquit, Seligman, Ferri, Bax and Loria.

captives. The establishment of slavery was a decided step in advance, both economically and morally.[7]

Slavery now became common. First, it was a tribal institution. But the tribal slavery finally gave rise to the private ownership of man by man,—a result of the tribal method of distribution, undoubtedly,—and this led to private exchange of the product and at last to the private ownership of land and the destruction of the early Communist system.

Cause of Abolition

As a private institution slavery continued until the economic changes made it unprofitable to own human beings as chattels. In the days of the decadence of the Roman Empire, slavery became unprofitable on the great agricultural estates and thousands of slaves were liberated and others made tenants on the land. Finally, the invasion of the barbarians broke up the Roman civilization and made slavery impossible.

European Feudalism and Capitalism

The changed conditions resulting from the break-up of the Roman Empire gave rise to Feudalism, which became the essential system of the Middle Ages, although chattel slavery survived in certain quarters for centuries. There also existed alongside of the Feudal estate a body of

[7]For further discussion of this question see the author's little book, **The Socialist Movement**, Sec. 6.

free laborers—craftsmen and peasants. The craftsmen organized into guilds and carried on production under strict rules. Again changes occurred—the discharge of the feudal retainers, the forceful expropriation of the people from the soil, the destruction of the guilds, etc.—which made possible the rise of the new order. The individual capitalist who had existed in embryo in the guild master now came into power. The economic changes made possible the supremacy of a new ruling class.

American Slavery and Capitalism

Our American States furnish the best field for the study of the slave system and the transition to capitalism. This country did not go through the Feudal stage proper but passed directly from slavery to capitalism. We have a way of doing things in a hurry, even to repeating history rapidly. In the United States we see plainly the working of economic forces which would have freed the slaves had their emancipation not been hastened as an incident of the Civil War. The economic change which would have led to this result was already effected in the North. The rapid increase in the population and the development of the manufacturing system, rendered slavery unprofitable and unnecessary. The transformation of industry resulted in the loss of control

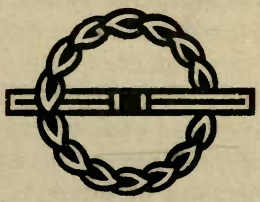
by the workers over the means of their livelihood. The vast cost of the new machinery gave rise to a capitalist class—the owners of the instruments of toil. The laborers thus dispossessed and unable to employ themselves were obliged to sell their labor-power to the owning class or starve. This gave to the capitalist class an abundance of cheap wage labor. The ownership of the tools was sufficient—it carried with it the ownership of men. Wage labor was thus more profitable than slave labor, and consequently the North disposed of its slaves, giving Negro children away as soon as weaned. Owing to the scarcity of labor in the South and its backward industrial development slave labor continued to be an important factor. But it would have undoubtedly disappeared ere this had not the war summarily abolished it. Mr. Spargo, in his admirable little book, **Capitalist and Laborer,** cites the fact that "Many Southern slave-owners had come to the conclusion that slavery was unprofitable long before the Civil War began. Before the war was finished the question of slavery had become relatively unimportant, so much so, indeed, that the Confederate cabinet itself proposed to abolish slavery in order to win European friendship."[8]

We do not deny the great work of Garrison,

[8]Reference given to Rhodes, **History of the U. S.,** V. 66-67.

Phillips, Brown, Lovejoy, and others, but this alone would never have wrought the abolition of the system had not the change in the method of production laid the foundation for the new order. Even the moral conviction that slavery was wrong did not become general in the North until the changed conditions had made it unprofitable to own human beings as chattels. But the moral ideal when perceived did much to arouse public sentiment and hasten the struggle between the North and the South, —one representing the interests of the capitalist class, the other the interest of the slave-owners. In this struggle the class more in accord with social progress naturally survived. Slavery gave way to capitalism.

The Moral Ideal Recognized



CHAPTER IV

Social Evolution to Reach Its Climax In Collective Ownership

Today capitalism rules supreme. But the social evolution is not completed. The conditions have materially changed since the supremacy of the capitalist class. In the beginning of the capitalist era there was individual ownership of the tools of production, next came the joint-stock or corporation stage, and this was followed by the trust stage.

Development of Capitalism

In the strict sense a trust is effected by the stockholders of different corporations transferring their stock to trustees. This was the way the Standard Oil trust was formed in 1882. But the term has now come to be used in a wider sense to denote every act, agreement or combination made for the purpose of restricting competition and controlling trade by fixing prices, etc. Some trades begin with the mere agreement as to prices and then pass on into some form of association, and finally into a full consolidation of interests and management.

The Trust

In one form or another the trust is found today in every civilized country. The movement has gone further in the United States than elsewhere, but England, Germany, France, Belgium, Austria, etc., are rapidly following

Growth

our lead. There is not a capitalist country where competition in the old sense is not rapidly disappearing if not practically already extinct in all the great industries. In spite of State and Federal legislation the trust movement in this country has gone on at a very rapid rate. Mr. John Moody, the author of publications consulted daily in Wall Street as a guide to securities, gives the statistics of the growth of trusts in this country from 1904 tc 1908. He shows that in 1904 the consolidations of industrial, franchise and steam railroad corporations aggregated in round numbers, $20,000,000,000. In 1908 the same lines aggregated over $31,000,000,000—an increase of over $11,000,000,000, or 55 per cent.

Mr. Moody gives the trust consolidation and capitalization January 1, 1908, in detail as follows: Seven greater industrial trusts,—Amalgamated Copper Co., American Smelting and Refining Co., American Sugar Refining Co., American Tobacco Co., International Merchant Marine Co., Standard Oil Co., U. S. Steel Corporation,—controlling 1,638 plants, capitalized at $2,708,438,754; 451 lesser industrial trusts, controlling 5,038 plants, capitalized at $8,243,175,000,—total of 458 industrial trusts, controlling 6,676 plants, capitalized at $10,951,613,754; franchise trusts, controlling 2,559 plants, capitalized at $7,789,393,000; great steam railroad groups, controlling 745 plants,

capitalized at $12,931,154,000; grand total of all trusts,—industrial, franchise, transportation, etc.,—controlling 10,020 plants, capitalized at $31,672,160,754. Of the industrial trusts 15 have a capitalization $100,000,000 or over, 33 have $50,000,000 or over, 165 have $10,000,000 or over, and 451 have $5,000,000,000 or over. Of the franchise trusts 16 exceed $100,000,000. 41 exceed $50,000,000 and 156 exceed $5,000,000. Of the 6 greatest railroad groups, all exceed $1,000,000,000 capital.

Government Restriction Futile

All efforts upon the part of the government to prevent this concentration have proved futile. The Interstate Commerce Act and the Sherman Anti-Trust Law have proved dismal failures so far as restricting combinations are concerned—in fact, nearly all the great trusts have been formed since the enactment of these laws. Almost every state has passed laws against the trusts but ways have been found to evade the law. When the Standard Oil trust was declared illegal in Ohio, it merely changed its name and kept right on doing business at the old stand. It ought to be self-evident by this time that great industrial interests cannot be compelled to compete by law.

Some have supposed that these combina-

tions are due to special privileges, such as the tariff or the shipping discrim-

Combinations Natural

inations of railroads, but the low tariff of England and the governmental ownership of Germany have not prevented industrial organization in those countries. The supposed special privileges have been greatly exaggerated. To be sure such favors have often facilitated the organization of industry but such is not the cause. Business interests combine because it is more profitable to combine than to compete. Competition goes on until the small businesses are driven from the field, and then the larger ones either fight to a finish, thus leaving the strongest one in control, or else realizing the disastrous results of competition—for competition among great businesses is a costly affair—they combine for self-protection and greater profits. Competition always ends in combination. Trusts are natural and inevitable. The development of the trust marks the beginning of the end of the capitalist system.

This change of economic conditions, in the method of producing and distributing wealth, again necessitates a

Socialism Demanded by Changed Conditions

new order of society. The trusts have systematized and unified industry and prepared the way for the final stage of social evolution. The trust era of production not only makes possible the socializa-

tion of industry, but necessitates it as a prerequisite to further social progress. Just as the ownership of men became an obstacle to progress, so the ownership of the social tools has become a hindrance.

The interests of society and the interests of the capitalist owners are now antagonistic. Society wants a large product but the capitalists want high values, and values are opposed to abundance. The purpose of every combination is to regulate production and limit the supply to the commercial demand. Society can never fully satisfy its wants except by owning the instruments of production and carrying on industry for the purpose of satisfying human needs.

The economic changes that precede and require a new order have already been effected. The tools of modern production are social. The private ownership of these great social tools is incompatible with the character of the tools and their methods of social use. This condition is due to an anachronism—a survival of the method of ownership and wealth distribution that belongs to the individual stage of production. It is evident that the social character and use of the tools of industry require their social ownership and control. The abolition of private ownership is thus demanded by the changed methods of production.

We have seen how a change in the method of wealth production resulted in a change in the social system—the laws, institutions, and even moral conceptions being transformed to meet the needs of the new economic condition. We are now facing a new social transformation. An economic change from individual to social mechanical production has been effected. This social production, and especially its developed trust form, demands a transformation in the political and social system to meet the needs of this new method of industry. This transformation in the social, political and judicial superstructure will realize Socialism.

Socialism is the next stage of social and economic evolution. As individuals have combined into corporations and corporations into trusts, so trusts will combine into the great trust—the Nation. This is logical and inevitable. It is only in universal combination that a complete consummation of social evolution can be attained.

Time Ripe for Change

The time is now ripe for the change. We do not need to wait for competition to crush out all small industries before the change is made. The development in any industry of sufficient large production to enable the concentration of production in these more efficient plants would enable the Socialist State to eliminate the remaining small in-

dustries at once. The ripeness of any industry for socialization, as pointed out by Karl Kautsky, does not depend so much on the elimination of small industries as on the organization of large ones.[9] Small industries may remain or even increase, but if large ones exist there is the requisite condition for social ownership. We need not wait, then, for the complete trustification of all industries, although we gladly welcome such organization as it is doing the work for us. Not only is capital organizing industry, it is also organizing and disciplining the workers and thus laying the "psychological foundation" for the new order of society. Let the good work go on—we bid it Godspeed.[10]

Knowledge of Law Important

Space will not permit further consideration of this law of Social Evolution. Suffice to say that scarcely a move is made socially or politically, either nationally or internationally, but can be traced to economic considerations. It is beginning to be realized by others besides Socialists that economic conditions form the real basis of

[9]See **The Social Revolution**, Kautsky, p. 144.

[10]The religious believer sees in this the working out of a Divine plan. As biological evolution culminates in man, so social evolution is destined, by economic necessity,—the Divine method of social progress,—to culminate in Socialism.

society and explain, in the last analysis, the social superstructure. These conditions are the soil out of which grow so largely the life and character of mankind. The manner, then, in which wealth production and distribution is carried on, or rather the ruling class which the economic system forces to the front, determines the kind of laws, customs and social arrangements at any given time. It is not claimed that this is the only factor in the equation, but that it is the chief factor is evident. Other forces play their part, but the principle force is economic. The change in the economic base necessitates a readjustment in the social and political realm to correspond. In other words a new method of gaining a livelihood creates a new civilization. A knowledge of this law is necessary to a clear understanding of the course of human history.

CHAPTER V

The Socialist Theory of Surplus Value

The Socialist theory of surplus value deals with capitalist production and exploitation. In order to understand this process we need to understand the capitalist system of industry.

Capitalist System

The capitalist exchanges his money capital for labor-power and the means of production, which commodities now become productive capital, and in the productive process are transformed into commodity products—products of greater value than that of the constituted elements composing it—and this commodity capital is retransformed into money.

The first and third stages of this process—the transformation of money into commodities or purchase, and the reverse process, the transformation of commodities into money or sale (however sale is also implied in the first stage upon the part of the holder of the commodity and purchase in the third stage upon the part of the buyer)—are called circulation.[1] This process creates no value or surplus value—these are produced in the second stage, called the productive.

The process of circulation is interrupted at

[1]We follow Marx' terminology here but the word "transformation" would seem to us much better.

the end of the first phase of the rotation of capital by the productive process, which makes the commodities, labor-power and the means of production, parts of the substances and values of productive capital and consumes them. The result of this process is a new commodity which is of different composition and value than the commodities entering into the process. The interrupted process of circulation must be completed by the exchange of money for the new product. The basis of this second and concluding phase is a commodity of different composition and value than the first. The process of circulation, therefore, appears first as the exchange of money for commodities, then as the exchange of commodities for money—the commodities in the second instance representing a greater value due to the intervening productive process. The change of value is due exclusively to the process of production which thus appears as a natural metamorphosis of capital, as compared to the merely formal metamorphosis of circulation. Capital, then, appears as a value which goes through a series of connected changes conditioned on one another and representing so many phases of the total process. Two of these phases belong to circulation and one to productive consumption—the transformation of the purchased commodities, labor-power and

the means of production.[2] Marx says, "The process of production, therefore, appears to us as an interruption of the process of circulation of capital-value."[3]

Industrial capital, then, passes through the forms of money capital, productive capital, and commodity capital and performs in each stage its own particular function. Some portion of the industrial capital—the individual capital—is in each form simultaneously and rotates side by side, when one portion leaves one stage another portion enters so that the entire circulation is a unit with the three forms.

Marx sums this up as follows: "One part of capital, continually changing, continually reproduced, exists as a commodity capital, which is converted into money; another as money capital converted into productive capital; and a third as productive capital converted into commodity capital. The continuous existence of all these forms is brought about by the rotation of the aggregate cycle through these three phases. Capital, as a whole, then, exists simultaneously side by side in its different phases. But every part passes continuously and successively from one phase and functional form into the next one and performs a function in all of them." The

Marx Summary

[2]Capital, Marx, Vol. II., pp. 58, 59.
[3]Ibid, p. 51.

process of production thus mediates the process of circulation and vice versa.

We are now ready to trace the origin of surplus value. We have stated that surplus value is not created in the process of circulation—the transformation of money into commodities and vice versa. Surplus value is created only in the field of production. We will consider first the process of manufacture.

Manufacture

The three factors that enter into the manufacturing process are the machinery, the raw and auxiliary materials, and the labor-power. The capitalist buys these factors in the open market, or rather authorizes their purchase by an agent into whose hands he places his capital, for the purpose of utilizing these factors in the creation of profits. This act constitutes the first phase of circulation. The factors now enter the labor process, but the values of these factors are no greater after they are joined together than they were before. Out of the mere addition of existing values no new value can arise. The capitalist can realize no surplus value if he pays in full for the factors of the labor process. It is evident that he must pay in full for the raw materials and the instruments of labor—these can only transfer to the finished product such value as they possess. These factors change their shape during the process of manufacture, but their value

does not change—it disappears in one form only to reappear in another, but with no increase. That which the capitalist pays for these factors is simply transferred to the new product. It is evident, then, that the labor-power must be the source of surplus value. This is the fact. The laborer being unable to employ himself must sell his labor-power for less than its real or use value. We have already pointed out that the transformation of the former limited instruments of production into mighty powers, costing vast sums of money, and the social character of the new methods of industry, reduced the once independent handicraftsmen to the level of wage workers. In this condition they must compete with one another for an opportunity to live. Their labor-power is a commodity which the capitalist is able to buy at its exchange value, which is determined like other commodities by its cost of production—the cost of maintaining the worker and his family in normal efficiency. This wage has practically nothing to do with the productivity of his labor—the amount of value which his labor-power adds to the product. Here, then, is the secret of capitalist exploitation. He buys labor-power for less than its real value and appropriates the difference between the price of the labor-power and that which the laborer produces. Labor-power is the factor which adds to the product more

value than its cost—it creates the new value, and it is this new value that constitutes the capitalists' profits. This unpaid labor, the difference between the cost or exchange value of labor-power and its value in use,—the value that the labor creates,—is called surplus-value. This is the source of the capitalist income and it is for this increment that he invests his capital.

Illustration

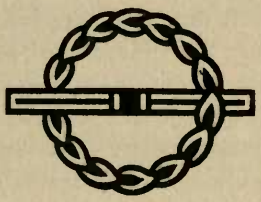
To illustrate the process suppose the product of a factory employing a certain number of men for a certain period of time amounts to $100,000. If the employer pays $60,000 for the raw and auxiliary materials, $15,000 for labor-power (including wages of superintendence), and $10,000 for the wear and tear of machinery and plant and miscellaneous expenses,—$85,000 in all,—he would thus make a clear profit of $15,000. Where did this profit come from? He cannot make anything on the raw materials or the machinery. The value of these factors consumed merely passes over and is embodied in the new product. But if we look at the labor-power we shall find that the laborers produced the value of their wages in half the time in which they worked. The other half they produced an equal value but received nothing in return. This surplus labor—the amount over what was necessary to produce the wages received—goes gratuit-

ously to the capitalist. The appropriation, however, is made each day, the day being divided into two parts—the necessary and surplus labor time. The necessary labor is that which is requisite to create the wages; the surplus labor is the unpaid labor embodied in the product. The percentage, of course, is not fixed; it varies a little at different times, and the amount of this surplus value which the capitalist receives as profits also varies.

Statistics

The capitalist figures are not always reliable and the statistics are so compiled that it is sometimes difficult to find out the exact facts. In 1900 the average annual wage of all workers (men, women and children) is given as $437, and the average net product per worker (not including those listed as salaried officials and clerks, and after deducting cost of materials used, miscellaneous expenses, etc.) is given as $872. The salaries of those listed as salaried officials, clerks, etc., averaged $1,017, each—the officials probably getting the lion's share. The average wage of the adult man was $490, but we do not know the value of his individual product separate from the other workers. If the salaried officials are included, the average sum received by each adult wage worker and official would be $536, and the net product would be aproximately $1,027. Thus allowing the salaries of the officials, many of

whom receive large sums and render no service, the laborers are seen to be exploited out of a goodly portion of the wealth they create—they are compelled to work at least four hours, and more likely nearer five hours, every day gratuitously for others.



CHAPTER VI

Exchange as a Productive Process

What is true of manufacture is equally true of exchange. Exchange is a part of the productive process—those engaged in transporting goods, etc., being producers as much as those engaged in the primary, extractive, and formative industries. The purpose of production is to supply human wants and the process is not complete until goods are brought to the consumers. The process here begins with the first phase of circulation, the transformation of money into commodities,—the commodity capital of the manufacturer becomes the productive capital in exchange,—and together with the other elements of production (the means of transportation, labor-power, etc.) passes through the productive process of change in time and place, and with the augmented value thus acquired passes again through the process of circulation. Exchange assumes the means of the process as existing—store houses, transportation facilities, retail stores, etc., in fact, all the means necessary to get goods from the manufacturer to the consumer. Circulation in the field of exchange, as in manufacture, is merely incidental—it introduces and closes the productive process. It consists simply in the transformation of money into commodities and vice versa. Strictly speak-

Exchange

ing, the process of circulation is not a function of a special class—excluding the speculator—but an incidental function of the industrial class as a whole. The conversion of money into commodities and **vice versa** is a necessary function in the process of the reproduction of capital, but the function does not create value or surplus value. If these operations were not performed the capitalist could not use his capital in the process of production, and consequently could not reap the profit of such industry.

Two Cycles

Industrial production, then, is divided into two cycles—manufacture and exchange. The final stage in the first cycle is the first stage in the second cycle. In both cycles the process of production intervenes midway between the two opposite phases of the circulation of capital. Each cycle begins with money-capital. This fact is not altered by the manufacturer carrying on the process of exchange himself, for he must receive the money value for his product to begin with in order to continue the process of manufacture uninterrupted. This would necessitate an additional capital, for, while his commodity capital goes to the market another capital is needed to continue the process of production—capital would have to be advanced in order to begin anew the first cycle.

He would also need a still further sum to secure the means necessary to carry on the second cycle. It is generally advantageous for the manufacturer to confine his activity to the first cycle and turn over the second to another class. The result of this division of labor is to facilitate both processes—the manufacturer converts his commodities more quickly into money, and the exchanger secures the final sale of the commodities more quickly. However, if the manufacturing capitalist performs this function he obtains additional profit which otherwise would go to others.

It is thought by some that the second cycle is merely the circulation of commodity capital,—the augmented capital value of the first cycle in the form of commodities,—in which there is no increase of value or surplus value. But we hold that the money capital in the second cycle, as in the first, is transformed into productive capital. Transportation is a productive process. Marx truly says, "Transportation, as an industry, sells this change of location. This utility is inseparably connected with the process of transportation, which is the productive process of transportation. Men and commodities travel by the help of the means of transportation, and this traveling, this change of location, constitutes the production in which these means of transpor-

tation are consumed. The exchange value of this utility is determined, like that of any other commodity, by the value of the elements of production (labor-power and means of production) plus the surplus value created by the surplus labor of the laborers employed in transportation."[4] Marx then gives the formula for the transportation industry which is the same as for manufacture. It is the process of production itself here which is paid for and consumed, not a product separate from it.

The field of exchange, then, is not merely buying and selling in which the merchant buys of the manufacturer and sells direct to the final consumer without any intervening function. Before the manufacturer's product can reach the final consumer it must pass through the productive process of exchange.

The Merchant

We use the word merchant here to cover the entire process of exchange, although, strictly speaking, the term is limited to the first and last stages of the process—the wholesale and retail dealers. But the cost of exchange (expressage, transportation, etc.), the expense of all the objective materials of commerce—must be advanced by the merchant, and, although the function appears as a special business, still the merchant recovers the con-

[4]Capital, Vol. II., p. 62.

stant and variable capital invested in this field and for all practical purposes we can let the merchant stand for the entire process of exchange. The profit here appears as merchant's profit, however the division of labor may necessitate its ultimate distribution.[5]

Goods sell, under normal conditions, at their

[5]It will be seen from the above that we hold that merchants' capital is productive. The trade profits of the merchant are not due merely to the manufacturing capitalist selling his product below its value, and so surrendering to the merchant a portion of the profit, but to the exploitation of labor in the field of exchange. The constant capital here—that invested in the commodities, store rooms, transportation facilities, retail stores, etc.—creates no value. The value consumed in the process of exchange is added to the value of the commodities but with no increase. It is the variable capital, labor-power, that adds new value to the product—the labor-power expended in these social functions. The capitalist in this field, like the manufacturing capitalist, buys labor-power at its exchange value and makes the difference between what he pays for it and what he gets out of it. And this field includes the function of the merchant proper who brings goods within easy access and keeps them in stock for the accommodation of the community. No man creates new matter. All production is simply the putting of things in their proper places. Man moves things and when they are moved in a proper manner he creates value. The manufacturer changes forms and combinations

price of production. This price is determined by the cost plus the average profit. The various rates of profit in different industries are equalized by competition into a general rate of profit and it is this average

Prices
Values

of raw material by putting them into fit places; the merchant similarly takes things from where they are useful and places them where they are more useful. The manufacturer produces form and shape value, that due to the form and shape given to materials; the merchant produces time and place value, that due to bringing goods to the place where needed and saving them until the time when needed. To be sure there has been much waste of economic force in the field of exchange and the merchant has often reaped an unjust return for the service rendered, but this is no warrant for assuming that the function itself is non-productive. The function of the merchant is not mere buying and selling, this is only requisite to enable him to secure and place goods where they are needed to supply a commercial demand. It is not contended that the mere transfer of ownership, the exchange of goods for goods or goods for money without change in form or place, of itself creates value. This is true both in the field of manufacture and exchange. The buying and selling of the means of production or of the manufacturer's finished product (the means of production is often the commodity-product of some other manufacturer), creates no value. Value is produced by labor and we include in the productive process not only the extractive and formative industries, but all the functions necessary to transform materials into finished products and to bring them to the hands of consumers—the act of placing and keeping goods in stock being a necessary part of the process.

profit added to the capitalist cost of production which determines the price. Prices, then, may vary from values, in fact, such is usually the case, owing to the different compositions of the capitals in the different spheres of production. In instances where the percentage of constant capital (machinery, materials, etc.) is larger and the percentage of variable capital (labor-power) smaller than the average social capital, prices will be greater than their values, and vice versa, instances where the percentage of constant capital is smaller and the percentage of variable larger than the average social capital, the prices will be less than the values. Only where the composition of the special capital is the same as the average social capital, will price and value be equal. However, the aggregate prices of the production of all commodities equals their aggregate values—the various deviations in prices from values mutually compensate one another. The law of value, then, remains in force, in fact, it is only by means of this law that variations can be explained. If commodities sell at their values the profits will equal the surplus value embodied in them, but if they sell above or below their value then the profit in that instance will be more or less than the surplus value, as the case may be. But, as just pointed out, these differences tend to equalization.

CHAPTER VII

The Class Struggle Inevitable

The interests of the laboring and capitalist classes are antagonistic. But the apologists of the present order tell us that their interests are in harmony, and point to the co-operation of labor and capital to substantiate this claim. It is true that production requires the co-operation of labor and capital, but this fact does not touch the question of the division of the product. It is here that the interests are diametrically opposed. This is the other half of the truth that the capitalist apologists dare not tell. It is the interest of each class to get as large a portion of the product as possible. As the product is divided into two parts it is certain that both cannot secure the larger share. The value created by a day or a year of social labor is a constant quantity, and is equal to the value of the labor-power and the surplus value. If a constant quantity consists of two parts, it is self-evident that you cannot increase one without diminishing the other, or divide the quantity so that each shall have the larger portion. Thus it is seen that as wages and profits are both parts of the products of labor, one cannot be increased without diminishing the other. The economic interests, then,

Interests of Classes Antagonistic

of laborers and capitalists are not identical. The class interests assert themselves in the division of the product—each struggles to get the larger share. Let no one be deceived by thinking that because labor and capital co-operate and are necessary to each other in the production of wealth, that the interests of laborers and capitalists are in harmony. Many superficial persons are led to accept this capitalist philosophy through a failure to distinguish between capital and the capitalist. In modern production the capitalist has become, so far as the productive process is concerned, a useless appendage. The function of direction previously performed by him has been handed over to hired employees. But as the capitalist owns the capital, the tools necessary to labor, he is master of the situation. Here, note, the capitalist performs no part in the productive process—the co-operation is not between the capitalist and labor but between capital and labor. What we seek to eliminate is not capital but the capitalist. However, we bear no enmity against individuals. We recognize that the capitalist, like the pauper, is the legitimate product of the present system of industry. It is the system that works injustice—individuals are not responsible. The system rends society into economic classes. The class having possession of the means of livelihood—lands, factories, mines, railroads, etc.

—are able to keep the non-owning class in a condition of dependence and servitude.

A class struggle naturally and inevitably ensues between these two great economic classes. Both have organized to further their ends,—the laborers into trade unions, the capitalists into employer's associations. In the National Association of Manufacturers there are 500 local associations in the United States and 3,500 of the most representative manufacturing concerns in the country. The Citizens' Industrial Association of America has affiliated with it 600 national association, 66 state or district associations, and 355 local or municipal associations of employers.[6] These associations are designed to do for the employing class what the labor unions are doing for the working class, that is, advance the interests of those connected with it. The struggle between these two classes is incessant—when not an open warfare there is merely an armed truce. There can be no peace in capitalist society—the struggle will go on until the proletariat is victorious. The vision of the social revolution has resulted in the elevation of the proletariat and this revolutionary consciousness is requisite to the furtherance of its political power. If the proletariat de-

Class Struggle Inevitable

[6] **Labor Problems,** Adams and Sumner, p. 279.

sires its freedom it must not lose sight of its historic mission and narrow its vision to the incidents and interests of the passing moment.

Character Socialist Movement

Militant Socialism, as previously pointed out, is primarily a movement of the proletariat class, but this does not mean that only workers are welcome in the movement; in fact, there are many others in the Socialist ranks—those who see the justice of the Socialist claims and the higher civilization that Socialism would bring. While Socialism would serve only the class interests of the working class, it would serve the higher interests of all. Comparatively few, however, rise to this higher level. We cannot expect those enjoying large special privileges to willingly relinquish their advantage. They naturally desire to perpetuate the system that enables them to live in idleness off the labors of others.

Socialists Recognize Class Struggle

Modern Socialists recognize the fact of class struggles—such struggles are implied in their theory of social evolution. But class struggles are not invented, as some ignorantly seem to think, by Socialists. These historic struggles began with the introduction of slavery. From that day to this the history of mankind has been the history of class distinctions

and class struggles between the ruling and the ruled. But the struggles between the earlier divisions—slaves and masters, serfs and feudal lords—were of little consequence, the uprisings were only sporadic. Neither slaves nor serfs were able to emancipate themselves, although the struggles of the latter toward the end of the feudal regime were more effective. Ancient slavery, as already stated, disintegrated and a new ruling class arose through change of conditions or by invasion, as in ancient Rome. Feudalism was destroyed by the rise of a new economic class, whose interests were opposed to the feudal regime. The organization of the free craftsmen into guilds and the rise of a commercial and monied class —the beginnings of the modern capitalist— was the cause of a new class struggle which overthrew the feudal nobility. The development of capitalism gave rise to the modern class distinctions and the class struggle between the capitalist and proletariat classes.[7] Class struggles, then, are not the result of agitation—they rise out of economic conditions. The present class struggle inheres in the present system and will continue as long as the system exists.

Those who profit by the class struggle ob-

[7]This period is well covered by Mr. Unterman in his **Marxian Economics**, and by Mr. Spargo in his **Socialism**, ch. IV, VI.

ject to having attention called to it, because they wish to perpetuate it. The Socialists call attention to this struggle because they wish to abolish it. They thus seek to enlighten the workers concerning their own interests; in other words, make them class-conscious—conscious of their interests as a class and conscious of the fact that they can only improve their interests by advancing the interests of the class to which they belong. The Socialists point out that the control of the political power is necessary to any class that would permanently improve its economic condition, and seek to unite the whole working class into a political party that will serve its interests—the Socialist Party.

Abolition of Class Rule

The complete triumph of the Socialist Party would mean the abolition of class rule and economic dependence. Herein the coming revolution differs from all preceding changes. In former revolutions class superseded class, but the continuance of private ownership resulted in establishing a new despotism. But the economic conditions out of which the present class struggle will deliver the workers are such that the emancipation of the proletariat must necessarily carry with it the emancipation of all society.

The working class cannot free itself except by socializing the means of production. When these instruments are socially owned, the cause

of all economic dependence and oppression will be abolished. When the working class is supreme, the last act of class government will be to remove this cause of class division and class struggles. Thus, while as Militant our cause is identified with class, as Triumphant it is identified with humanity. This is the distinction between Militant and Triumphant Socialism. Militant Socialism is primarily a movement of the proletariat class; Triumphant Socialism will abolish class divisions and make humanity supreme. The cycle of class divisions, which began with the introduction of slavery, will end with the advent of Socialism. In the coming regime there will be but one class—humanity—to which every member of society will be recognized as belonging.

CHAPTER VIII

Scientific Versus Utopian Socialism

Of course, one may be a Socialist who merely believes in the Socialist ideal of society, without knowing the Socialist theory of social evolution or the origin of surplus value or even recognizing the proletariat character of the movement, but he cannot be a Scientific Socialist without knowing and accepting the fundamental principles of the Marxian philosophy. Scientific Socialism includes a knowledge of the present system and its workings, as well as the doctrines and advantages of the Socialist system. A knowledge of the Socialist philosophy is also necessary to guard against the futile dreams of Utopianists.

Socialist and Scientific Socialist

Perhaps it might not be amiss to say a word concerning these well meaning gentlemen, for there are many who tell us that the only way to improve social conditions is for all who desire to attain that end to unite upon some measure tending in that direction and push it to a successful issue. In order to unite all factions some incidental reform must be chosen, but we are told that one reform after another could be adopted and so the end sought gradually realized. This is the program of the non-Socialist reformer.

Modern Reformers

Such a reformer is either of a middle class type who wishes merely to strengthen the position of his class, or of an idealogic type who imagines that each social evil is separate and can be removed by some readjustment within the present social system. Such reformers fail to trace the social evils to their source—all such are symptoms of a diseased body economic—and also fail to recognize the fact of class rule which is an effective barrier to any measure that touches the interests of the capitalist class. So long as the enforcement of laws depends upon the capitalist officials little can be accomplished. We have many laws on the statute books now which are practically dead letters, simply because the executive function of government is held by the representatives of capitalism. Socialism is the only remedy for the various evils and the first step toward their elimination is to man the ship of state with Socialist officials.

Socialist Officials Trustworthy

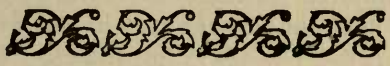
But it may be asked, What assurance have we that the Socialist official will not betray his trust? I answer, Every assurance in the world. As a matter of fact, the old party politician is not false to his trust—he is always true to the capitalist class. He owes his nomination and election to the capitalist class and he does not sell it out. For the same reason the Socialist official will be

true to his class,—the class to which he owes his nomination and election,—the proletariat. As an agent of this body he will ever be subject to its will—provision has been made to this end. There is no more danger of the Socialist official betraying his trust than of the capitalist himself. Hundreds of Socialists have been elected to office in various countries. How many did you ever hear of selling out? If the capitalists really believed that Socialism could be thus easily thwarted, they would not be making such strenuous efforts to oppose its propaganda. No, the capitalists realize that at last they have met a political force that cannot be bought or bullied. The movement is bound to go on in its conquests until it is in control of all branches of the government. When this is accomplished there will be no difficulty in reducing the Socialist ideals to practice. However, no sudden transformation is expected—no one is looking to change the whole order at a single stroke. But the great industries are now ready for social ownership and the transformation will be effected as rapidly as practical.

Ameliorative Measures

While Socialists work for the goal of social revolution they at the same time welcome any measure that will alleviate the evils of capitalism. But there are many propositions masquerading under the name of reform which are really reactionary and which we cannot be expected to endorse. We have

no quarrel, however, with real ameliorative efforts, although with reform methods and many alleged reforms we are not in accord. The Socialist Party has always advocated measures that tend to mitigate present evils, as may be seen by an examination of the immediate demands in its platform.



CHAPTER IX
Propaganda and Tactics

Propaganda

Now a word as to the method of propaganda. Here we find an important distinction between the Scientific Socialists and what may be called the reform-step-at-a-time-Socialists—those who expect to realize their ideals by piecemeals within the present system and while the present ruling class is in full control. The latter wastes time and effort in singling out special measures and treating them separately. He will devote a whole evening to direct legislation and perhaps succeed in convincing someone of the advisability of the measure. But when our reformer Socialist is through he has not made a Socialist of the man. It may be contended that the man has taken a step. But how long would it take in this way to make a thorough-going Socialist of him? As a matter of fact but little has been accomplished. It is much better to present straight Socialism in the first place. Make a Scientific Socialist of a man and you have already convinced him of the benefits of direct legislation, national ownership of railroads, municipal ownership of electric light, gas, etc.—all these are included in the Socialist program. A man might be convinced of the advisability of the government ownership of all these social utilities, and still not be a Socialist. The method

of the Scientific Socialist is more effective. He uses all these instances as illustrating and enforcing his demand for the collective ownership of capital, but he does not permit them to obscure the central principle. All these special instances are but parts of the whole and naturally and necessarily follow from the central demand. Standing alone none of them are of sufficient importance to warrant the concentration of effort upon them. And not only so but the conditions are such today that it is fully as easy, if not easier, to make a full fledged Socialist of a man as to convince him of the desirability of any half way measure. The presentation of Socialism from the standpoint of the Scientific Socialist is so logical and forcible that it carries conviction.

Tactics

Now a word as to tactics. While all Socalists believe in a social revolution—a complete transformation of the economic base and superstructure of society—there is a difference of tactics, of method, in accomplishing the desired result. The Scientific Socialist believes that the social revolution is to be wrought by the mastery of the political power by the proletariat class. The reform Socialist rejects this method and seeks the social transformation only through reforms generously granted by the ruling class.

But there is a wide difference between re-

forms—all reforms are not steps toward Socialism, some are directly in the interests of the ruling class or some section of it. I have already pointed out the nature of middle class reforms. Let me here give an illustration. There is a great difference between the government ownership demanded by the non-Socialist reformer, and the public ownership demanded by the Scientific Socialist. The former wants government ownership in the interests of the middle class; the latter wants public ownership in the interests of the working class, the real public. Whether a measure is a step toward Socialism or not—whether it is a revolutionary reform (as all Socialist reforms are) or merely a middle class reform—depends upon its internal mechanism, upon the standpoint from which it proceeds. A measure may be apparently such, that is, it may be so in outward form, while its internal working may be anti-Socialist and designed to serve the interests of the capitalistic class. Such public ownership would not bring us any nearer the Co-operative Commonwealth. Russia owns her railroads, and Germany her railroads, insurance and banking, but these countries are practically no nearer Socialism than the United States where these businesses are in private hands. We are not considering the question of the relative value of private and

Difference in Reforms

public capitalism—even admitting that the latter is in many ways better than the former—but of the best and surest method of attaining the Socialist ideal. It is very much to be regretted that any who have caught a glimpse of the Socialist ideal should be caught by the non-Socialist reform bait. All Socialist reforms have for their object the economic and political strengthening of the working class—they are proletariat conquests and prepare the way for the inauguration of the new order. We are not adverse to taking a "step-at-a-time," if the step is in the right direction—if it leads towards the goal.

Capitalists' Adoption of Socialist Measures

As the Socialist movement advances in the United States we may expect the capitalist class to adopt some of the measures of the Socialist program—such as are least injurious to its interests. This effort at self preservation—an attempt to delay the full adoption of the Socialist program—was the policy of Bismark in Germany, and it will undoubtedly be tried in other countries. Scientific Socialism is the only safe-guard against such a flank movement of capitalism. No Scientific Socialist will be caught by this decoy duck policy.

And here note that any concessions granted

by the ruling class will not be the result of the reform-socialistic tactics, but the result of the rising tide of the revolutionary Socialist vote. Thus the only effective way, even to secure something now, is to follow out the tactics of the Scientific Socialist. Any other method will not only be futile in attaining the whole loaf, but the half loaf sought will turn out a stone. The Scientific Socialist will not be misled into abandoning his tactics of independent political action by any pretense or promise the capitalist class may put forth. He knows that in the attainment of his aims, the political supremacy of the proletariat class is absolutely necessary.

Cause of Concessions

A knowledge of Scientific Socialism, then, is necessary to guard against the futile dreams of reactionary and superficial reformers.

PART II
TRIUMPHANT SOCIALISM

PRELUDE

Fundamental Principle of the New Order

The Ideal Order

Man has ever longed for a better order of society, one in which peace, justice and plenty should reign supreme. But this dream of a perfect order could not be realized in the economic conditions of the past. It is only in modern times that the industrial development has made possible its fulfillment. Social systems are not put on, as a man puts on a suit of clothes, ready made. Evolution, not special creation, is the method of social progress. The ideal of the future state of society perceived by the Scientific Socialists is not a scheme wrought out of the inner consciousness, but a system which is the natural outcome of the present order, the outlines of which are already taking shape in the industrial and labor world.

Collectivism Essential to New Order

The Scientific Socialist does not pretend to give all the details of the new order, nor is it to be expected when we remember that Triumphant Socialism is not a cut and dried scheme, but the next stage in the social and economic evolution. That the new order will have for its

fundamental principle the collective ownership of capital—the social means of production—is quite evident. The industrial evolution which has socialized the method of production foreshadows the socialization of the social instruments of production. This contradiction between the new form of production and the old form of ownership is the basis of the whole social conflict today. The solution of this contradiction can only be effected by making the method of ownership correspond with the method of operation. We cannot go back to the days of small things, but we can make the tools socially used socially owned. It is clear, then, that the social ownership of the great means of production will be the dominant principle of the new order. The social production and ownership will be national or municipal according as the product is for general or local consumption. This, of course, does not exclude co-operative ownership of certain lines by groups of workers.

I wish now to point out some of the results and advantages that will follow the adoption of this principle.

CHAPTER I

Abolishment of Exploitation

It is often supposed that laborers would still be exploited under Socialism. This error arises from the fact that Socialism does not necessarily demand the collective ownership of all the means of production, but only such as are social in character and upon which the lives of the people depend—those instruments which cannot be privately owned without working social injury and individual injustice. The aim of Socialism is to place in the hands of producers the means of livelihood, and this requires the socialization of such instruments as are social in character; that is, such as are cooperatively used. Tools which are used by individual owners may remain in private hands. The small farm, for instance, is an illustration of such a business. Here the means of livelihood are already in the hands of the worker and there is no demand for socialization—such means of production are not capital.

Social Ownership Not All-Inclusive

While all land under Socialism would belong to the public and the ultimate title would be vested in the government, still a man could own a farm to all practical purposes, for he could secure a permanent lease of the land for a nominal sum such as he now pays in taxes. Such farm-

Agriculture Under Socialism

ers would be much better off than they are today—they would receive the full value of their product and not have to divide with a host of middlemen and other exploiters. They could purchase their machinery and other necessities at cost, and market their product without giving the lion's share to railroad corporations, grain elevator owners, etc. But we expect, however, that agriculture in most lines will sooner or later become socialized, because of the waste and inefficiency of the present method. If the small farmers do not see the advantage of such organizations, society might equip large tracts of land and give practical demonstrations of the economy of organized agriculture. We believe the benefits of organized agriculture will lead the farmers to first form co-operative societies and operate the land in common. We know it is claimed that in some things intensive farming is more profitable. If so, private production might hold the field in those lines. But it has been demonstrated that in many things farming on a large scale is more economical. But even here if a farmer wants to keep on in the old way no one will interfere with him, but we think the smaller returns as compared with those engaged in social production will eventually lead farmers to seek the better way. When agriculture is sufficiently socialized so that the production, then individual production in those

lines at least would likely disappear, because no one could succeed in producing goods for sale or exchange in competition with the commonwealth, any more than individual production can now compete with the social production of the trust. There is no statute today prohibiting men from carrying on production on a small scale, but small production is becoming more and more difficult. Nevertheless, if any man should wish to raise wheat or make shoes there would be no law to prohibit him, but his undertaking would not be financially successful, inasmuch as he could not produce the goods as cheaply as the collectivity. The cost of a pair of shoes socially produced would not be one-fourth their cost under individual production. A man would be foolish to produce shoes for exchange which cost him four times the labor that he could get for them. He could not afford to put four hours' labor in an article which would bring him but one hour's labor in return. His labor in the social factory would be four times as productive as in his small shop. Thus he would not be able to produce shoes profitably either for exchange or for himself. Even the cobbler today is not able to produce in competition with the large factory.

But could not the capitalist erect a large

factory and introduce machinery and so produce as cheaply as the national factories? This supposition presupposes that the capitalist could hire laborers and exploit them as today. But, as a matter of fact, he could not hire them at all unless he paid them as much as they could make working for themselves. In the social factory they could get all they produced—the full product of their toil.[8] No private producer could carry on production and give to his employees the entire product, consequently there could be no private production in factory or on farm on a large scale. No laws need be enacted prohibiting such production; it would be rendered impossible by positive social action.

Large Private Production Impossible

When Socialism is first inaugurated there will undoubtedly be many small branches of industry still unorganized. Organization will go forward rapidly under the new order, but it will not be accompanied by the evils necessitated by such organization under capitalism. Today if a small producer is transformed from a worker in a small field into a worker in a

Socialist Vs. Capitalist Organization

[8]Some have thought that because the State and municipality would need large revenues to carry on their work under Socialism—the extension and im-

larger field, it means his transformation from a property holder into a proletarian. But under Socialism the absorption of the small industry by the larger one would render the middle class man a partner in the improved and enlarged industry and he would then participate in the advantages of the larger production. All industries which are carried on by inferior methods and which are capable new method becomes the dominant method of of socialization would soon pass into the hands

provement of industry, the erection of public buildings, the education of children, the care for the unfortunate, the provision for the superannuated, etc.—that the laborer could not receive the full product of his toil. But the portion of the product which will thus go to the State and municipality is for social benefit and so comes back to each member of society. It is therefore strictly true that each will receive the full product of his or her toil—either as direct income or as social benefit. We have all been children and we all hope to enjoy a ripe old age, and so will gladly contribute in return and anticipation for this benefit and protection, etc. —Socialism is the cheapest and safest form of insurance ever devised. The revenues expended in public buildings and the extension of production are all public benefits and will be equally enjoyed by all. It is far more economical and efficient for the people collectively to build a library, a museum or art gallery than for each individual to attempt to own one himself. The portion contributed to such enterprises by each individual does not represent a lessening of income, for in no other way can he secure such a large return for so little cost.

of the collectivity—national or municipal—but the change would not be accompanied by ruin and misery.

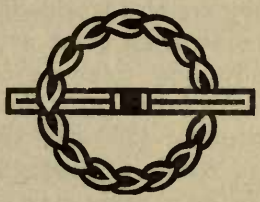
Vocations Not Completely Socialized

There are some vocations which may never be completely socialized. Thus, while there would be social organization of medical attendants, yet there may also be private physicians. If any one should wish to part with any portion of his income to secure private medical attendance there would be no objection. Undoubtedly for a time after the transition many people may retain private physicians, but there is every reason to believe that the public service would be superior to the private service, and would soon become paramount. Even today public hospitals are encroaching on the individual practice of physicians, just as public schools are driving out private schools.

Again, the demand for the products of artistic hand labor may be greatly increased under Socialism. Those who desire thus to satisfy their personal taste will find ample opportunity. But all such little businesses will be only incidental. However, the laborers engaged in them will be perfectly free and can produce for private consumers or for the open market. Many undoubtedly will follow such lines as avocations while regularly engaged in social production in a national factory.

All such services, then, as medicine, art, etc., which can not be easily centralized, may, in a measure, and for some time, at least, if not always, be left to private payment.

One thing, however, is certain, whatever vocations or businesses are temporarily or permanently left in private hands the business of the labor exploiter will be relegated to innocuous desuetude. Socialism by setting the standard of labor remuneration and labor conditions would abolish all exploitation.



CHAPTER II

Industrial Depressions to Cease

Industrial Depressions Periodic

The capitalist system leads to disaster, if not in a straight road, at least by a wave-like advance—comparative prosperity alternating with industrial depressions. The depressions are of periodic occurrence. Industry runs in what is called a "vicious circle." Beginning with the crisis of 1815, ten such catastrophes have afflicted this country. They are also worldwide and nearly contemporaneous in all great nations. These periods of adversity follow great industrial activity, such, for instance, as the activity preceding the crises of 1893 and 1907. But depressions may come on gradually without a financial panic, or a panic may appear as the first evidence that the body economic is out of order. After a depression has lasted for some years the glut is relieved and business slowly begins to recover. It begins cautiously but orders increase and soon the bankruptcies are forgotten and the engines of production are again at full speed, each producer trying to outdo his competitor, and all producing in the dark without knowledge of the extent of the demand. This procedure invites another catastrophe and it comes in response to the call.

The organized and centralized control of in-

dustry tends to lessen the frequency of industrial depressions in so far as they are due to the maladjustment of industry, but it also tends to gradually lengthen the periods of depression and make them chronic. Not only this but the centralized financial power opens the way for the deliberate production of crises and panics for the express purpose of squeezing the small capitalist and stockholders who are the mere hangers-on of the large capitalists.

The causes of industrial depressions inhere in the capitalist system of industry. The product created by labor today is divided into two parts: one goes to the laborers in the form of wages, the other to capitalists, landlords, and other gentlemen at large in the form of interest, rent and profits. The worker can buy back only a portion of the product even at factory prices. But to the factory price is added the profits of a long series of middlemen and retailers, which result in greatly increasing the factory price. Then, when we take into consideration money spent for rent, doctor's bills, insurance, pleasure, etc., it is evident that the laborers can only purchase a small per cent of the goods they have produced.

Division Under Present System

The capitalists, on the other hand, being comparatively small in number, are unable, by their best efforts, to consume "their" portion

of the product, and thus a large surplus is left on their hands for which there is no commercial demand.

The result of this condition is most serious. As production is carried on for profit, it ceases as soon as profit is threatened.

The Result Production can only be sustained by consumption and consumption is limited by wages. The wages paid will not buy back the product produced, consequently a glut takes place and depression results. We are confronted by a condition of over-production or rather under-consumption, for there can be no such thing as the former so long as men, women and children are in need. The laborers would gladly consume more, but their wages will not permit them to do so, and all the while the tools are becoming more and more gigantic and are turning out an ever-increasing product, while wages, if not stationary or declining, at least do not advance in proportion to the increasing product. Laborers are less and less able to buy back the product of their toil. Unless some outlet can be found for this surplus product, production must cease at intervals until the excess is consumed.

The capitalists have sought an outlet in for-

eign markets. Capitalism has reached a point of development in the United States—a point long since reached in Europe—where it must expand or burst. Foreign markets are necessary to capitalism. This is recognized by eminent capitalists and their apologists. Mr. Chauncey M. Depew some years ago pointed out that we produce $2,000,000,000 more wealth every year than we can consume. Hon. E. C. Smith, Post Master General under President McKinley, said that the "Economic problem of the world today is the distribution of the surplus." He then went on to point out that "Under this stress the great nations of Europe are struggling for Empire and trade. They are scanning the whole horizon for new fields of conquest, colony and commerce. Around the Yellow Sea and the adjacent waters is a population of 500,000,000 and a potential trade of thousands of millions. Why should we not play for our legitimate share of the great stake?"

Foreign Markets

This, indeed, is what we have been doing —our whole foreign policy is the result of greedy commercialism. It evidences the criminality of capitalism, which does not hesitate to sacrifice the life and liberty of a people in the interests of private profit. The capitalist class must have markets and opportunity to invest their surplus capital, no matter at

what cost to others. And all that is needed to enlist the blind support of the people in carrying out their nefarious schemes is to cover them with the cry of "Patriotism." Great wrongs have always been perpetrated in the name of humanity, civilization, and patriotism. It is only thus that the ruling class can gain the moral support of the people.

Relief Not Permanent

But this search for foreign markets although necessary to capitalism can afford no permanent relief, it will react at length and hasten its downfall. Russia, Japan, and Australia are already being closed to us —they are developing into industrial states and will soon supply their own wants. They are introducing our methods and will ere long become serious competitors. The capitalists have recognized this fact, and have seen the need of transplanting industries to the Far East. With the acquisition of the Philippines the American capitalists can organize great industrial plants there, and with the cheap labor of the country can control the markets of that section.

But the opening of the Philippines is only a beginning. The capitalists are bound to have the cheap labor of China and if they cannot get it here, owing to the exclusion laws which the laborers have had power to enact, they will take the machines to China. The

capitalists will produce in the East the goods needed to supply the Eastern market, and perhaps ultimately will produce there to meet the competition of Europe. If the goods are produced there less will be produced here, and less labor will be employed at home. It is not absolutely impossible that the cheap goods produced by American capitalists in the Far East may not be sold in the United States in competition with the American home made product! American capitalists already have branches of manufacture in foreign countries in order to secure trade, but produce certain lines of goods in the United States to supply the foreign trade—marked of course with the foreign stamp—and it will be but a step for them to produce abroad and mark with the home name and sell in America! Free trade or a low tariff with our Eastern possessions is all that is needed. The capitalists can be depended upon to provide the way. If the middle class cannot now successfully compete with the trust, what chance would it have under such conditions?

Leveling of Wages

The American capitalist, by the means of better machinery and more efficient labor, has had an advantage over his foreign competitor, but it will not be long at the present rate of progress before industry will be as much developed there as here, and then

competition will be fiercer and fiercer. When all capitalist nations stand on practically the same mechanical basis, there will be a leveling of wages. With the same mechanical means, foreign laborers will become as efficient as the American, for skill is being eliminated by automatic machinery. It is quite evident that wages will then fall to the level of the "pauper wages of Europe." We have now reached a point where protection is of but little or no benefit to labor, inasmuch as we produce more than we consume and so must seek the markets of the world.

Labor's Outlook Discouraging

The laborer's outlook, under the present system, is not encouraging. Unless the capitalists have foreign markets they cannot dispose of the surplus and so will not allow labor to produce more. If they have the foreign markets they must adjust conditions to meet foreign competition, and so reduce wages, and finally, they will be compelled to establish industries in the East in order to meet the competition of other capitalists who are producing there. And every dollar's worth of goods produced for the American capitalist in the East, means just so much less employment for labor in the United States. The laborers' outlook under the present system is appalling.

The Labor statistics of New York State show

The Unemployed

that from 5 to 13 per cent of the trade unionists are out of employment in the busiest season of the year, and the time actually lost through unemployment and irregular employment, varies from 17 to 30 per cent. In the fat years of 1899, 1900, 1901, the average trade unionist lost one out of every five or six working days. The labor unions represent the better trained men and unemployment is much less than with the unskilled laborers. In Massachusetts statistics show that in normal years about 67 per cent of the establishments run 300 days or more; about 23 per cent run 250 to 300 days, and about 10 per cent less than 250 days. We thus see that a portion of the time the factory doors are closed to everybody. Large numbers of laborers in normal conditions are out of employment all the time, and those who are fortunate enough to secure regular employment are idle a portion of the time—from 10 to 20 per cent of the working days of the year. The March Bulletin (1907), N. Y. State Department of Labor, gives the mean of unemployment 1902-1905 as 15.1 per cent. In periods of industrial depression the number of unemployed rises into the millions. Any system that cannot provide for the employment and consequent livelihood of the people is doomed. The profit system is fast breaking down.

What is the remedy for this deplorable condition? The only possible remedy is for the producing class to acquire possession of the socially necessary tools, and organize industry and carry on production for use instead of profit. To allow a few, like dogs in a manger, to monopolize and refuse to the workers the use of the means of existence, simply because the idle class could not make profit, is absurd. The evil inheres in the wage and profit system. If the laborers received the full product of their toil they would quickly dispose of the surplus. Every dollar's worth of these goods which the capitalists are so anxious to sell abroad is wealth exploited from labor through the wage system. How long will laborers rejoice at the opportunity of capitalists to sell foreign nations the things they themselves need? Think of the workingmen pointing to the long list of exports and rejoicing because the products of their toil are being sold abroad to enrich the coffers of the capitalist class! As Socialists we protest in behalf of the thousands of unfed, half clothed and homeless workers against such a policy and necessity. What we want is that these goods produced by labor should go to labor. Socialism would secure to the laboring class this wealth. It would inaugurate a system wherein opportunity to labor

The Remedy

would be secure to all and where the entire product would be kept and enjoyed by those who produce it. Until society is organized on a co-operative basis we shall have the problem of industrial depressions ever with us. With the abolition of private enterprise on a large scale and the consequent exploitation of labor, industrial depressions, both periodic and chronic, will be a thing of the past.

CHAPTER III
Property for All Assured

This ideal was impossible in the days of hand labor, because men could not create greatly in excess of their needs. In order to multiply production fifty fold it was necessary to multiply the number of workers fifty fold. But this multiplied the demand on the product in like proportions so there was no surplus. But today with mechanical power it is possible to multiply the product fifty fold—it is estimated that on an average one workman with machinery produces fifty times as much as one man formerly did by hand—without any multiplication of the number that must live on the product. A large surplus is thus created. But the laborers who create this wealth cannot get the full benefit from the increased productivity of their labor, because of the conditions under which production is carried on. If the productivity of labor should increase a hundred or a thousand fold, the result would be practically the same—the greater portion of the increased product would be appropriated by the owning class. The laborer's wages have no relation to the goods produced—wages, as shown elsewhere, are determined by an entirely different law. The reason prosperity is not general today is not due to inability to create wealth—the problem is

Impossible in the Past

not one of production, but of distribution.

Statistics of Wealth Distribution

Mr. G. L. Holmes, expert of wealth statistics for the tenth census, found 0.3 per cent of the people owned 20 per cent of the wealth; 8.79 per cent of the people, 51 per cent of the wealth, and 91 per cent of the people only 29 per cent of the wealth.

Dr. Spahr estimates that seven-eighths of the families hold but one-eighth of the national wealth, while one per cent of the families hold more than the remaining ninety-nine per cent.

Mr. Lucien Sanial, a competent authority, divides the number of occupied persons ten years and over into three classes: The plutocratic class, numbering 250,251 persons or 0.9 per cent, owning $67,000,000,000 or 70.5 per cent of the total wealth; the middle class, numbering 8,429,845 persons or 29.0 per cent, owning $24,000,000,000 or 25.3 per cent of the total wealth; the proletariat class, numbering 20,393,137 persons or 70.1 per cent, owning $4,000,000,000 or 4.2 per cent of the total wealth.

Mr. Robert Hunter estimates that in so-called "good times" there are ten millions in actual want in the United States and the condition in other countries is even worse.

No one can claim, then, that the working

class is prosperous. As a class its members cannot live decently and save anything for a rainy day. A few may save a pittance, by denying themselves of everything that makes life worth living, but only a few. It is not necessary to harrow your feelings by describing the dismal poverty and misery that can be seen in any city. There are millions of people who are crushed by poverty and want, and driven to dissipation and crime. They are miserably housed, shabbily clothed, and poorly fed. They are compelled to toil unceasingly from morning until night for the barest necessities. Even the lot of those more fortunately situated is not an enviable one, for they must forego many of the pleasures and comforts of life, and can only hope at the most to be decently housed, clothed and fed, while the few exceptionally favored can only by great sacrifice come to own a cheap home and perhaps lay aside a pittance for old age. The condition of the working class, at the best, even in periods of the greatest industrial activity, is a scathing denunciaiton of our present system of industry. To be sure when business is good the wage earners can more easily find employment than in days of depression, but their wages will only about equal the cost of living; it is due to this fact

Laboring Class Not Prosperous

that no prosperity under the wage system can secure to the working class anything in excess of the average livelihood. A prosperity that can bring to the working class nothing but work, is not the kind we are in search of. We want something besides drudgery, yet this is the only kind of prosperity possible today. If the capitalists would take to themselves a little of the work prosperity and give to labor a little of the wealth prosperity, it would at least be an improvement on present conditions. The only prosperity possible today is a prosperity of a few—a prosperity that merely utilizes the workers in producing wealth for the idlers.

Capitalist Prosperity Spurious

We have seen how, in periods of so-called prosperity, the owners of the instruments of production draft on to the machines a larger number of men to be utilized in grinding out profits. When the cycle of activity has run its course the workers are again laid off, and made to depend on charitable doles until they can again be employed at a profit. Capitalist prosperity is not worthy the name—it is spurious and ephemeral, even such as it is. The fact of poverty in the midst of plenty is a disgrace to civilization. But we can never hope for real prosperity—prosperity for all—so long as the present system exists.

Socialism alone can secure the genuine article. It is generally conceded that Socialism would greatly increase production and so increase the income of each laborer. The trusts have taught us the benefits of concentration and organization in industry. By concentrating production in the most perfect plants they are able to close up the less efficient without a decrease in the output. The sugar trust closed up three-fourths of its plants and the whiskey trust sixty-eight of the eighty large distilleries, and produced in the remaining as much as was previously produced in the whole number. The Socialist regime will apply this principle to all social production. The laborers displaced by the culling out of inefficient industries would then be available for other productive lines, but as the object of Socialism will be to increase production, a portion could be transferred to the better equipped plants where by shifts of fewer hours each a greatly increased product would be produced. When capital becomes collective property there will be no obstacle to thus eliminating all inefficient methods and industries. The trust has pointed out the way. The productive power of labor would thus be greatly increased and with a corresponding increase in the individual income, which would attract laborers from para-

Trust Method Applied

sitic to productive activities, and so further increase the productive power of society. Remember, under Socialism, the more workers the more produced and the larger the individual income. This concentration would also eliminate the enormous wastes of the present order and simplify the problem of supervision of industry—all of which would accrue to society as a whole instead of the few as today. It is not too much to claim that by the application of the simple trust method of concentration of production into efficient plants, without any increase in new machines, the product would be doubled or even trebled and the hours of labor reduced one-half. In the course of time the large productive plants may be increased in number so that shifts would not be necessary, but we see what could be done immediately upon the triumph of Socialism.

Prosperity Possible Today

Prosperity is thus possible today. It is only the private ownership of the instruments of production that stands in the way of an unparalleled increase of the world's productive power—such an increase as would give an abundance of the good things of life to every worker in return for even a few hours of joyful labor. Production today is carried on for profits, and profits depend on limited supply. Prosperity for all requires abundance—the needs of every man,

woman and child to be fully met. But abundance is opposed to profit, consequently, production is checked as soon as profit is threatened.

Socialism would solve the problem by doing away with a system that condemns the workers to idleness and starvation except when an employer can make profit out of them. Under Socialism production would be carried on for use, and would continue until the needs of all the people were fully supplied. There would be no private interest to interfere with the people in supplying their wants. With a scientific organization of industry this could be accomplished with three or four hours labor. Abolish the capitalist monopoly of the means of livelihood and the exploitation of labor, and poverty would be a thing of the past. Socialism would realize a prosperity that would be genuine and permanent.

Problem Solved

CHAPTER IV

Proper Incentive to Industry Supplied

Socialism would furnish a proper and sufficient incentive to industry.

(1.) By the enforcement of Paul's rule, "If a man will not work neither shall he eat."

Paul's Rule

This certainly would be salutary—many to-day at both ends of the social scale are in need of such a stimulus. Socialism would not compel any man to work, but he would have to work, if physically and mentally able, in order to live. Were work provided for all, no relief would be given to those who refused to avail themselves of it. Under socialism then, men would work because they prefer work to starvation. Few, however, would need such a stimulus in the new order. When labor becomes atttractive through an improvement in its condition and the shortening of hours, men will seek it gladly. The love of action, the desire to do things, have always led men to act unless prevented by adverse surroundings.

Work Under Socialism Honorable

Under Socialism, work being honorable, none will think of shirking. Today the "gentleman" is thought to be the man who lives in idleness off the labors of others. Under Socialism the man who tries to escape his share of the public burden would be held up to just contempt. To

refuse to work would be to insult the state and to proclaim one's self a hater of his fellows. Were one to take such a stand his fellows would make it exceedingly warm for him. When idleness becomes disgraceful, where is the man that could withstand the jeers of his comrades? Public opinion would then be a most effective stimulant. Under Socialism indolence will become a thing of the past—laziness will be an "offensive form of selfishness and vulgarity." Under these changed conditions labor will be a joy and not a burden —Paul's rule will then soon become unnecessary.

(2.) By the Dependence of Individual Income Upon the Social Product

Income Dependent on Social Product

While the new order will undoubtedly take as a starting point the ratio of wages and salaries in vogue at the time, the tendency will be toward equalization. When the ideal is realized, as it will be in the "fullness of time," it will certainly be to the interest of the laborers to produce as much as possible, inasmuch as their enjoyment will depend upon the amount produced. The income of each would depend upon his own zeal and the zeal of others; consequently every laborer would be watchful that none shirked his duty, for self-interest and justice would demand that each

render a just labor energy for his share of the product. We may be assured that the man who works faithfully will not permit the sluggard to come in for an equal share. Everyone would be interested in the efficiency of labor, by which cost would be reduced and the social product increased. Whatever method of distribution is adopted, the more produced the more there will be to distribute.

Wage System Destroys Incentive

The present system destroys the incentive to labor. Today the laborer's maxim is to render as little labor as possible for his wages, and he is entirely supine in regard to his co-worker's conduct. When he goes to work his wage is fixed, and he receives no more pay for extra service. He knows that if he works extra hard today his master will expect him to do as well or a little better tomorrow, and not only that, but the harder he works the quicker he will work himself out of a job. The larger part of the business today is carried on by men working at day wages or on fixed salaries. Not only the labor of detail, but the control and superintendence are entrusted to salaried officers. These men do not work for themselves, and consequently have no personal interest in their work. It is beyond dispute that the present system of money wages and fixed salaries does not produce the maximum of zeal.[9]

[9]Here note that while metallic money and wages

On the other hand, when men work for themselves co-operatively and their income depends upon their faithfulness, and the more they produce the more they receive, then it will be to the interest of all to use their ability to the best advantage.

Co-Operation Produces Faithfulness

Even today if you put a boy to hoeing corn and he hoes five rows a day and you tell him that tomorrow he can go fishing as soon as he gets his five rows done, the probability is that his stint will be done by noon. We are all big children and when placed under a system where it would be advantageous to be faithful and productive, we can be sure that all would gladly respond. Under Socialism every worker would be a partner in the national product. That this argument is valid may be seen by the co-operative enterprises in which there is no abatement but rather increase of zeal. If, un-

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may be retained for some time after the transition, when Socialism is fully established both will become unnecessary. When Socialists talk about the abolition of money they mean commodity money. Under Socialism a medium of exchange need not be based upon intrinsic value—commodity money is only necessary in a system of commodity production—a paper currency, which would virtually be a "labor check," or "certificate," would be all that is needed. The abolition of metallic or commodity money is not Utopian, but the natural result of the abolition of commodity production and sale.

der the present system, a small share of the profits, as seen in profit sharing, stimulates the worker, how much greater will be the incentive under Socialism where the laborers receive the entire product. It is strange that any should pretend to think that laborers will not be faithful unless some one can be found to exploit them out of three-fourths of the wealth they create.

(3.) By the Desire to Excel and the Love of Social Esteem

Social Esteem

This is really the great motive power today, although often checked by our perverse economic system. Social esteem has been the greatest incentive that has moved men in all ages. It was so with the ancient Greeks in their national games; it is so today in our colleges and universities. It is the real motive that animates men in every department of life. Look at the lifeboat service, the fire department, the host of editors, ministers, authors, inventors, etc. Look at men striving at cricket, baseball, football. Is all this effort and zeal for money incentive? The chief motive here is love of approbation, desire to excel, social esteem. How, in the light of these facts, can any claim that greed is the motive power of the human race? Men of culture and genius have generally, if not always, served the world without mercenary incentive. Men will always do more for love, honor or fame

than they will for money. The lives of Bruno, Galileo, Newton and a host of explorers and martyrs, evidence this truth. For the sake of love, truth, duty, religion, men and women will suffer imprisonment and martyrdom. Who will do as much for pecuniary gain? No, friends, greed, even today, is not the chief motive of life. It is surely not the dominant motive with the artist, the scientist, the statesman, or even with most business men. In seeking wealth men do it for what they think it will bring—admiration and enjoyment. If they thought this end could be attained in some other way, Mammon would not have so many worshippers. Aside from the need of securing the daily necessities of life, the two chief motives that actuate men to acquire money is the wish to provide for the future of the family and the desire to purchase applause. The former is due to love and the latter to vanity, both of which are stronger motives than mere greed. Socialism would so reconstruct society that there would be no fear of want, neither could wealth purchase applause or secure honor. Success, even in industry, would no longer be measured by the accumulation of a fortune. The industrial director would then become a public functionary and as such would be moved by higher considerations. Under the changed conditions, the

Greed Not Chief Motive

higher motives, which in certain fields have been so long subordinated, will come into full activity and serve as a stimulus to higher endeavor and increased excellence.

Kind of Incentive Socialism Destroys

The only incentive Socialism would destroy is that which adulterates food, produces shoddy clothes, builds fire-trap tenements, etc. Do away with the reward of crookedness and men will be men. Thus, while capitalism destroys both incentive and opportunity to faithful and efficient labor, Socialism would furnish the greatest stimulus to exertion that the world has ever seen.

CHAPTER V

Political Corruption to Disappear

It is unnecessary to dwell upon the fact of political corruption. Most people are so familiar with it that they take it as a matter of course. They say government is corrupt and there is no hope of improvement. Others are more optimistic, due perhaps to lack of experience, and they tell us something can and should be done to remove this growing evil. These people are actuated by noble motives, but their efforts betray an utter lack of knowledge concerning the economic question, and consequently of the causes of the evil they seek to remove. Failing to trace the evil to its source, they waste their time dealing with effects. They observe that men in public position frequently betray their trust and so conclude that the fault lies with the individual, and, consequently, demand that better men be elected to public offices. This accomplished, they think the problem solved.

Political Corruption Universal

Usually such advocates of reform have but little conception of practical politics, and absolutely no conception of the fact that the economic rulers are the political rulers. They little realize the power they are up against, and the difficulty in the way of

Reformers Well-Meaning

getting men nominated and elected that are not tools of the ruling class. They have also failed to observe that their remedy has been tried time and again and usually proved ineffective even where the difficulties have been surmounted and good men elected to office. The temptations which beset the public official under the present system are often more than his weak human nature can stand.

Now let us inquire, What is the cause of political corruption? The cause is the opposition of private to public interests. Self-interest is the root. Legislators and councilmen are bribed, either directly or indirectly, by those owning vast aggregations of wealth that special privilege may be obtained. Every trust, corporation, or important business interest today is admitted to be politically a corrupting power. If necessary, the officials are bought outright, but frequently a little stock, a railroad pass, or trolley blue ticket is all that is required. So long as individuals or corporations can advance their own interests at the expense of the public, so long there will be legislative corruption. The lobby, of which so many complain, is but an effect of which self-interest is the cause. It is a perfectly natural concomitant of the present system of industry. Many a man who was honest and upright when he entered pol-

Cause of the Evil

itics has fallen from grace. The incentives today to corruption are too great to hope for much improvement. If men were perfect beings they might administer the present system honestly and justly, but in the present stage of human development the temptations seem almost more than frail humanity can bear. So long as government must be administered by imperfect beings, it would seem the only wise course to remove the motive of perfidy and dishonor. It is surely the height of absurdity for reformers to place all their efforts upon getting good men in office, and leave untouched a system of industry that makes them bad as soon as they get in. If the powers that be are unsuccessful in corrupting the official, he finds himself isolated and at the expiration of his term laid upon the shelf.

Individuals Not to Blame

Our friends are working at the wrong end of the problem. It is futile for them to blame individuals, to censure public officials, for doing the very thing they are expected to do. If we support the system we ought not to make war on those who administer it. Neither does it do any good to rail at the political machine and boss. These are effects, not causes. We might destroy a certain political machine and boss, but unless we change the system another machine and boss would come into existence. No political boss

could long retain his power were it not for the contributions he is able to secure from corporate interests in return for favors rendered. It is corporate pap that builds up and maintains the political machine. In New York City the municipal ailment is not Tammany Hall, but the business interests that use Tammany Hall to buy legislation at Albany and at the City Hall. Behind the political ring is the private owners of public franchises. Public corruption is merely the overflow of business corruption. It is mere shortsightedness that blames the ward politician and public official. A little careful examination will reveal the fact that the ward politician and public official are merely agents of those who are endeavoring to subserve their material interests.

Point at Which It Arises

Political corruption arises at the point where government and commercial interests come into contact. Government depends upon private corporations to furnish many things it needs, and the private corporations bribe public officials to secure contracts. The corruption is due to the private ownership of the industries that produce the government supplies. Socialism would make these industries public and so remove the cause of political corruption. Nothing short of Socialism, however, would suffice.

The railroad graft in the postal system, for instance, would be removed by socializing the railroads. But the public railroads would have to depend upon private corporations for their rails, coal and various material used, and the door to public corruption would again be opened in the letting of new contracts. The evil here could only be removed by the public ownership of these industries. These public industries would depend upon other private businesses to furnish their supplies, and so the field of public ownership would have to be extended to practically all industries before the possibility of corruption would be entirely eliminated. But when these businesses are all public, the government would no longer be at the mercy of private corporations, and political corruption would be a thing of the past—there would be no public contracts to let and no private business to corrupt public officials. Graft is always in the interests of private business. No one ever heard of a city or nation raising a fund to bribe its councilmen or congressmen —it is the owners of asphalt plants, brick yards, fire hose supplies, steel plants, transportation lines and other industries that produce things the city or nation need, that bribe legislators. Under Socialism these industries will be socially owned and the cause of this corruption will be removed.

The remedy, then, for this deplorable condi-

tion is quite clear. If the cause of political corruption is the opposition of private to public interests, the remedy, as already intimated, is to remove this antagonism, to make the interests of the individual identical with the public interests; in other words, to remove these interests from private or corporate management and control and thus render it impossible for men to subserve individual interests by violating the public trust, and then faithful, honest legislation will be secured. If men could not advance their own interests at the expense of the public they would have no motive to bribe public officials. Under Socialism there would be no opportunity to raid the public treasury or secure fraudulent appropriations, for there would be no opportunity for individuals to engage in large enterprises. There would thus be absolutely no motive for one to secure special privileges at the expense of the public. One could only secure an excess of commodities which he would be unable to consume or dispose of. For the same reason the official would have no motive to sell out even if there were a buyer, but, as a matter of fact, there would be no one with any interest to purchase, however much he might desire to sell. Under Socialism no one would have a desire to accumulate a great fortune, for he could not capitalize it and make it a source of productivity.

The Remedy

Political corruption is inherent in the present system, and so long as the system remains we cannot hope for much improvement. There is only one remedy—the abolition of the system of antagonisms, in which the interests of every man are set against the interests of every other man and of society as a whole. Socialism will make all interests identical. Socialism alone will remove both motive and opportunity for corruption—it will pluck the evil up by its roots. Remove capital from private control and you remove the cause of political jobbery. Remove the cause and the effect will disappear.

Government Under Socialism

Socialism would greatly simplify government and render unnecessary its obnoxious powers, which result from our false organization of society. Socialism means industrial self-government, a Social Democracy, in which the people are their own masters. In such a system, with no economic classes, the government would necessarily be democratic, it would represent all the citizens. The functions of government would be divided into two departments—political and economic. The former would deal with the administration of justice, education, health, fine arts, etc., the latter with the administration of industries. The political representative might be elected by general vote, but the economic

representatives would be elected by the various trades and callings—each vocation culminating in a department chief. The two functions of administration might be united in the same body or the two branches of our present government might be retained—one being the political and the other the economic House. Socialists believe in decentralizing government and would place in the hands of the city all industries possible that are not national in their scope. Of course, the Referendum, Initiative and Imperative Mandate (right to recall) would be applied to all legislative and administrative bodies—these principles are necessary to a true democracy.

It is quite evident that in such a system official corruption would be an impossibility.

CHAPTER VI

Right to Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness Secured for All

If a man has the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, he has the right to the requisites essential to this end. The basis of life and the essential requisites to liberty and happiness is security of livelihood. This is the foundation. It is the business of society to guarantee to every individual this essential, for without it the primal rights of man would be invalid. I say it is the business of society for the reason that every individual is a member of society, and society ought to look out for her own.

Security of Livelihood

The right to life is the right to earn a livelihood, the right to liberty is the right to be independent of the whim or caprice of a master, and the right to the pursuit of happiness is the right to leisure which could be devoted to those things which delight and improve. That these primal rights are not secured under the present system is too obvious for discussion. The very conditions of the present order negative their realization.

The Primal Rights

The private ownership and control for pri-

vate profit of the things which the workers must use in order to live, is the cause of economic slavery. There is only one solution to the problem. We cannot go back to the system in vogue when our government was founded, the system of small things and small ownership. Production is no longer an individual process—men must work together in large numbers, in large plants. Those who own these social plants own and control the opportunity to work and live. Since production has been socialized, we must socialize the ownership of the tools to correspond. It is only by collectively owning and controlling the things which are collectively used that the workers can escape economic servitude and secure the conditions requisite to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

Economic Slavery

The basic assumption of capitalism is wrong. It postulates that every man is free to secure his rights, when, in fact, he is circumscribed at every turn. Instead of equal opportunities, we are confronted with vested privileges which give to some an advantage over others. The average man finds himself so circumscribed that he is forever at the mercy of some monopolist of the instruments of toil. He is thus absolutely dependent, and to read to him the Declaration of

Man Circumscribed

Independence is but adding insult to injury. It is all very fine to talk of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and glory in the achievements of our forefathers, but they did not foresee that the economic system, then in its infancy, would, in less than a century, preclude the realization of their ideals. These rights, however, are none the less sacred today than when they were embodied in their manifesto. But they will never become the heritage of the vast majority of mankind until Socialism is triumphant.

CHAPTER VII

Social and Industrial Evils to Vanish

Good Men

It is a common error to suppose that if men were only good the evils that afflict society would disappear. This fallacy is due to a failure to trace the evils to their source. Assuming that social and industrial ills result from the perversity of human nature, they inform us we need only to make men good and the problem would be solved. "Good men," they say, "would make good conditions." But, judging from observation, the conditions which such men make are only such as minister to the well-being of the dominant class—conditions that meet the requirements of the present system of industry. The usual demand to put good men in office is only that the present system of government may be administered in accord with the conventional ideas of right. Those making the demand have no idea of altering in any way economic relations, or changing the present capitalist method of production. They merely desire a better management of public affairs. This is laudable enough in itself, but to suppose that it is sufficient to remedy the social and economic evils from which we suffer is to evidence gross ignorance of the whole question. Were we to place men in office who are corruption proof, it would not remedy the situation, for the evils from which

we suffer are inherent in the system itself. The mere making men good, whether they occupy a private or public position, will not necessarily in itself make such conditions as will remove the cause of poverty and eliminate the evils which afflict humanity. The fact of a man's being good and well disposed does not imply a knowledge of the economic question, and, consequently, of the means necessary to secure justice and plenty for all.

We have seen that the cause of social and economic evils is due to the private ownership of the means of production and distribution. Here is the basis of servitude and exploitation. Yet many men called "good" appropriate the product of others' labor, wholly in ignorance, apparently, many of them at least, of the fact that they are living at the expense of their fellows. They do not perceive the moral wrong judged by the higher standard, because the prevailing ideas of right, etc., are the reflex of the prevailing economic system. The ruling ideas of any age are the ideas of its ruling class, for even abstract ideas are interpreted by this class to suit its class interests. Thus under slavery it was considered right to own human beings as private property, just as today, under capitalism, it is considered right to own the social instruments of production as private property.

A man's being good, then, does not insure that

he will apprehend and lend himself to the abolition of injustice. All men might be good, but so long as the means of existence are privately owned poverty and want will stalk hand in hand through the land.

It is not my purpose here to consider the quality of this "good;" suffice it to say that really good men can best be produced and kept good in good healthy conditions. Those who talk about making good men and good men making good conditions, put the cart before the horse. Environment is an important factor in shaping human life. Philanthropists have demonstrated this—they have shown that ninety per cent of children taken from the slums of our great cities and placed in comfortable homes grow up into respectable men and women. If left to grow up in the wretched surroundings of vice and crime they would contribute to the criminal and outcasts of society. All recognize the power of environment—none want their boys brought up in vile surroundings, or their girls raised in brothels. They realize that children surrounded by such conditions are almost certain to turn out bad. As environment is the chief factor in determining character, we should surround men with an environment conducive to good character. The capitalist method of endeavoring to produce virtue by legislation is absurd. It pro-

Power of Environment

vides by law that men shall not steal, cheat adulterate, etc., but the conditions are such that they keep right on stealing, cheating and adulterating. Socialism will provide an environment wherein it will be to the interest of men to do right.

The Socialist Method

The Socialist offers the only effective method for abolishing these evils. Recognizing the scientific fact of the economic basis of society, he demands a betterment of these economic conditions. The individualist is at work at the wrong end of the problem—he fails to trace the evils to their source. Society is an organism, and just as when the physical organism is out of order the symptoms manifest themselves in various ways, so when the social organism is diseased, the symptoms take on various forms —intemperance, prostitution, etc. All these symptoms evidence a diseased body economic. There is but one remedy—do away with the cause. The basis of our industrial order is unjust, its operations unchristian, its results damnable. The social and industrial evils are inherent in the system and can only be removed by a thorough renovation.

Making men good, then, is not sufficient to

bring in the golden age of society. We need to supplement the moral purpose with economic knowledge. We need intelligent men as well as men with good intentions—men with sufficient insight into the economic question to enable them to direct their efforts aright. We do not disparage any effort to make men better; we only call attention to the fact that individual goodness is no remedy for social ills. We must not confound individual salvation with social salvation, nor the means adopted to effect the one with those necessary to secure the other. A man may be a saint but that will not save him from the evils of a perverse economic order. Many a man of ideal character is the victim of our system of grab and greed. When the evil is social, it can only be remedied by social readjustment.

Economic Knowledge Necessary

CHAPTER VIII

Home and Family to be Preserved

Socialism will not destroy nor injure the home and family as some unwisely say, but will rescue and preserve them from the evils that blight them now.

(1) By Abolishing Child Labor

Child Labor

Capitalism has taken children from the home and put them into the factory, store and mine, thus making them a part of the machinery of profit grinding. Child labor is one of the great evils of the present system.

Statistics

According to the census of 1900 there were 1,750,178 children in the United States between the ages of 10 and 15, inclusive, engaged in gainful occupations. This is 18.2 per cent of the total number of children of those ages. Of these 1,061,971 were employed in agriculture under the superintendency of parents, and 688,207 in other occupations. The number has greatly increased since 1900. The National Child Labor Committee estimates the number of children now engaged as 1,939,524. But even these figures are far below the actual facts. Everyone familiar with child employing industries knows the tendency of employers to underestimate the number of children employed and of the parents to overstate the ages of the children. Many examples of defective

statistics regarding child labor are given by Mr. Bliss in The Encyclopedia of Social Reform.

Then the statistical report takes no account of children at work under ten years of age. But it is known that large numbers of children are employed in shops, street trades, etc. The New York State Bulletin of the Commissioner of Labor for March, 1907, contains returns from an investigation of tenement house labor in certain districts in New York City. In seven streets visited there were found 193 children engaged in the making of clothes, artificial flowers, etc., ranging in age from 5 to 14 years—64 of these were under 10 years of age. Many of the children were reported as working only occasionally, others as employed regularly for the entire day, and some until 9 or 10 o'clock at night.

Children Sacrificed to Greed

This is a horrible state of affairs. What shall we say of a system that thus sacrifices children to greed! We turn in horror from the old Moloch worship, but what better are we to sacrifice the lives of the little ones in the mills and factories to the god of Mammon. The evil results of child labor are frightful—physical deterioration, moral depravity, and mental inferiority. The child has the right to physical development, to good health, to fair education, to time

for play. A system that drives large numbers of its children to long hours of unrequited toil in factory and mine commits a social crime. Child labor is a menace to the home, to industry, to morality and to good citizenship.

The Remedy

Socialism would put an end to child labor by securing to the head of the family a sufficient income to enable the husband to support his family without the necessity of turning the children at a tender age into bread winners. The children of the well-to-do classes are not sent into the factory when they should be at play and school, and we can be assured it would not be so with the poorer classes were it not an economic necessity.

Socialism would give to the children of all a home and an opportunity to enjoy it. Today the homes of thousands are a travesty, and the family life a libel on the sacred institution of marriage. What sort of a home and family life is it where the little ones are denied the pleasures of childhood! Socialism would secure to the children the right to childhood. Destroy the profit grinding system and secure to labor the full product of its toil, and there would be no motive nor necessity for child labor. Socialism would thus safeguard the home and family against the ravages of poverty and greed.

(2) By Abolishing the Necessity for the Wife to Aid in the Support of the Family

Capitalism not only takes the children from the home, but women are also compelled to seek outside work to help eke out the family income. And ofttimes the wife's wages are the only means of livelihood, the husband being unable to find work is compelled to remain at home and look after the household as best he can while the wife earns a miserable wage at the factory!

Woman Labor

According to the census of 1900 there were 5,329,292 women employed in the 303 occupations, or 18 per cent of the females over ten years of age. The number of women wage-earners is constantly increasing. In 1890 there were 17.4 per cent, and in 1880, 14.7 per cent. Of the 5,329,292 women now employed 1,927,811 are native white (native parents); 1,184,046 native white (foreign parents); 880,415 foreign white; 1,316,872 Negroes; 20,148 Chinese, Japanese and Indian.

Statistics

What has been the results of woman-labor under the present system? The question is not whether woman should have suitable and equal opportunity with man to earn a livelihood, but what has been the result of the entrance of woman into the competitive struggle?

Results

This can only be determined by considering the economic and social effects—the question of marriage, the birth and death rate, juvenile crime, health and the influence on the home and family life.

Many quotations might be given to show the deleterious results of woman labor in these matters. Concerning some of the items figures are not available—they are too subtle to lend themselves to mathematical demonstration. For instance, the number of men who have been crowded out by women workers and who must stay at home and do housework and tend the children; the number of husbands who have been driven to drink because of poor cooking and insanitary homes caused by wives who, before marriage, were compelled to earn their own livelihood and have since been compelled to help in the support of the family; the number of women who have been ruined in health by the frightful conditions under which they toil, and the number which low wages drive to a life of shame, etc. Figures here can give no satisfactory answer, but the baneful results are evident in all directions. If the results could be tabulated, they would be appalling!

We are fortunate to have figures regarding

Morality and Mortality of Children

the bearing of woman labor on morality and mortality of children. Mr. Thomas Oliver has arranged the married women in the English artisan towns in three classes; the first of which contains many workers in shops, the second a fair number, and the third practically none. The result is shown in the following table:

INFANT MORTALITY PER 1,000 BIRTHS[10]

Year.	Class I.	Class II.	Class III.
1881-1890	195	166	152
1891-1900.	211	177	167

Regarding juvenile crime the number of offenders increased in the United States from 14,846 or 23.7 per 100,000 of the population in 1890, to 23,034, or 28.3 per 100,000 of the population in 1904. As there was an increase of married women gainfully employed during this period, we have a right to assume that there is a connection between the two. The necessary neglect of the home and the care and training of the children by working women is well known. The women themselves are not to blame; the system is at fault that compels them to leave the home and seek the factory to keep the family together.

Socialism, again, by securing to the husband

[10]Dangerous Trades, Oliver, p. 87.

the full product of his labor, would enable him to support his family, and thus give the mother opportunity to nourish her babe and look after the care and well being of the household. There can be no true home and family life when the wife is compelled to toil from morning until night in factory or store to help in the family maintenance.

The Remedy

To be sure employment will be open to women under Socialism—employment suitable to her sex and under proper conditions—but she will be a co-laborer with man, not a competitor, as today. We may be sure that when the wife is not compelled by economic necessity to seek outside work, she will not do so to the neglect of her home and family obligations. What Socialism proposes is to relieve the wife of the necessity to aid the husband in the support of the family. This will be done by the abolition of exploitation and enforced idleness. In cases where the wife is at liberty and desired to engage in public employment she could do so without neglecting her home, for the hours of service under Socialism would be reduced to three or four at the most. This is quite a different thing from compelling her to work from morn till night or see her children suffer for want of bread. Under Socialism women will be economically

Employment of Women Under Socialism

free and whether married or single they can earn their own livelihood in decency and self-respect if they so desire. This fact will do away with the matrimonial market—the marrying merely for a home. When women are economically free they will only marry for love. Socialism would furnish the conditions for right marital relations. The present system is thus against the home and family—in thousands of instances it prevents the establishment of homes, and in thousands of instances it destroys every real semblance of a home where one is supposed to be established. A home and family without wife and children—with wife and children in factory and mill—is a misnomer. Socialism would remove this evil.

(3) By Abolishing Prostitution or the Social Evil

Extent of the Social Evil

The extent of this evil is something appalling. Dr. Jean T. Zimmerman, president of the White Cross League, in an address before the Woodlawn Woman's Club of Chicago in 1909, placed the number of "white slaves" in the United States at 300,000. Rev. Aspinwall C. McQuaig, vice-president of the "National League for Promotion of Purity," places the number at 500,000. Mrs. Kate R. O'Hare, a rescue mission worker of much experience, estimates that there are

600,000 public prostitutes in the United States and possibly as many more who sacrifice their chastity in connection with other means of livelihood. Hon. E. T. Gerry places the number in New York City at 40,000. Mr. Geo. K. Turner says there are 10,000 professional prostitutes in Chicago, and Mr. Goodchilds writes of Philadelphia that the number of fallen women is 5,000 at least. The evil is everywhere present—in every city and town. In the older cities of Europe the condition is probably even worse. General Booth, in his "Darkest England," estimates the number of prostitutes in London at 30,000. In Berlin a commission appointed by the Society of Medicine found 4,364 fallen women recognized by the police, and estimated that the total number was from 40,000 to 50,000. In Paris the Prefect of Police places the number at 100,000. And what is true of the large cities in both America and Europe is equally true of the smaller ones in proportion to the size.

There are two chief causes of the Social Evil —poverty and profit.

(a) Poverty. There are thousands upon thousands of women and young girls who are driven to sell their bodies under the pressure of economic needs.

Mr. Stead, in "If Christ Came to Chicago,"

gives the testimony of Dora Claflin, the "Madam" of a house of ill-fame. She says, "Prostitution is an effect, not a careless, voluntary choice on the part of the fallen. Girls do not elect to cast themselves away. They are driven to the haunts of vice. The more distinctively womanly a girl is—and I mean by that the more she has beauty, delicacy, love of dress and adornment, feminine weakness—the easier a mark she is for the designing. And the designers are not wanting. Girls, and I say this emphatically, are not seducers. They have intimate delicacy and refinement. I say honestly that I do not believe that one woman in 10,000 would cast herself at the feet of lust except under duress or under the force of circumstances. The recruiting grounds of the bagnio are the stores, where girls work long hours for small pay; the homes that have few comforts, and practically no pleasures; the streets, where girls are often cast, still unknown to sin, but in want and without shelter; in a word, places outside the levee, where distress and temptation stand ever present as a menace to purity and rectitude; behind every effect there is a cause. In the case of prostitution, the real cause lies not in the girls who fall, but in the social conditions that make the fall easy, and the men who tempt to the step and furnish the money to support degradation after the step has been taken. Be-

Choice Not Voluntary

fore reform in the levee is possible, there must be reform in the home, on the mart."

Mr. Bliss, in his "Encyclopedia of Social Reform," quotes the above and comments as follows: "All writers on the subject agree in the fact that poverty leads to much prostitution, and that in stores, factories and offices, salesgirls, working girls and typewriters are drawn or lured by the lack of money or the desire for money." Again, he says, "The supreme social cause of prostitution we believe to be the bad housing of the poor, resulting from low wages, and the poverty of the great masses in our cities."

Thousands of women in factories and stores do not receive sufficient wages to enable them to support themselves—say nothing of relatives who are frequently dependent upon them —and the only way open to them is to supplement the low wages by the sale of their virtue.

There is another aspect of the question closely connected with this and well worth considering. Not only do men of large means victimize women who receive insufficient wages for their necessities, but the men of small means who receive insufficient income to support families resort to the chief places where women sell their persons and so help create a demand for the business. Thou-

Another Aspect

sands of young men today are deterred from marriage because their wages are not sufficient to maintain wife and family.

(b) Profit. The organized traffic in girls is for profit. Large interests are concerned in the exploitation of prostitutes —criminal hotels, houses of ill-fame, cheap dance halls and saloons, and men who deal in women for a trade. "These places," says Mr. Turner, "cater to the demand for ruining young girls—especially the low paid employees of department stores and factories, which furnish the majority of the English speaking women in the profession in Chicago. The dance halls and irregular saloons also take a part of the profit from this source. The direct business of supplying women to the trade, while not so large as these others, is also profitable. Some of the more enterprising of the keepers of the regular houses of ill-fame have private arrangements with men, who ruin young girls for their use."[1] He also mentions the regular organized business in this line which extends through all the large cities, with centers in New York, Boston, Chicago and New Orleans. This may be connected with the same syndicates which the president of the Woman's National Industrial League stated to the House Com-

Traffic in Girls

[1] McClure's, April, 1907.

mittee which was investigating the immigrant question a few years ago that "exist in New York and Boston for the purpose of supplying fresh young girls from immigrants arriving in this country for houses of ill-fame; agents of the business go abroad and assist in this nefarious business. Immigrants arriving in New York furnish 20,000 victims annually."[2]

Although much is now done to protect immigrants, the evil still exists. A branch of this damnable business consists in decoying young girls from their homes and then stealing them and shipping them to other countries for fear their friends will detect their whereabouts and expose the system. This traffic is carried on secretly, and many thousands of young girls, some of them mere children, are said to be shipped from country to country every year. Fortunes are made by the agents who carry on this white slave trade.

A book, "The Traffic in Girls and Florence Crittenton Missions," exposes many of the traps laid for unwary girls. The schools, private as well as public, are often made the main places for promoting child prostitution, disseminating obscene literature, and obtaining fresh victims.[3]

This business is pushed for what there is

[2]Quoted by Bliss in **Enclyclopedia of Social Reform,** p. 981.

[3]Encyclopedia Social Reform, p. 981.

in it. Do away with the profit system and make it as easy to earn a livelihood in honorable employment as in a soul-destroying business, and the traffic in women would soon disappear. Men push such a business not because they like it but because there is money in it. Secure to everyone a livelihood in decency and surround them with a society which places the emphasis on character instead of money, and no one would care to engage in a nefarious business.

The Motive

The social evil, then, is primarily economic, and can only be removed by such a change in society as will secure to women an opportunity of well being in virtue, and to man an opportunity to maintain a family in decency. Dr. McQuaig, previously quoted, says that 450,000 of the 500,000 prostitutes are the result of economic conditions. Do away with the wage system which produces want and dependence, and the chief cause of prostitution will be removed. The evil has its root in economic injustice. As long as exploitation continues prostitution will do its deadly work. We also need to destroy the profit system and the conditions that make wealth powerful.

Change Needed

Socialism is the only remedy. It will re-

move the cause of prostitution—the crowded tenements, the low wages, the poverty of the masses, etc. It will secure to woman economic equality with man, with equal pay for equal work and to each the full product of his or her toil. It would provide steady and remunerative employment to all, so that financial reasons need not deter from matrimony. It will also destroy the motive for men to engage in the traffic of girls. Under such conditions prostitution will become a thing of the past. The great majority of the women and men engaged in the business are not bad. If they go wrong it is the result of circumstances.

The Remedy

To sum up, Socialism would safeguard the home from desecration by removing the necessity for prostitution on the part of women, and the motive to engage in the traffic on the part of men. The abolition of this evil will remove one of the worst menaces to the home and family. The purity of the home and the sanctity of the family demands the abolition of the system that breeds this open sore of society.

(4) By Removing the Chief Cause of Desertion and Divorce

Investigation shows that poverty is largely responsible for wife desertion and divorce. The home is thus constantly endangered. The present system of uncertainty and poverty constantly breeds irritation and discontent,

The Cause

which lead to estrangement and often result in breaking up the home. The grounds usually assigned for divorce—adultery, cruelty, intemperance—are only approximate causes. Economic conditions are the main cause of the evil.

The Remedy

Socialism would remedy this evil. It would abolish poverty and place the family on a basis of economic independence and well-being and so remove the perplexities and vexations that arise from the struggle for existence. Remove these evils and you remove the occasions of discontent that issue in estranged feelings and broken vows. Socialism would largely restrict if not completely abolish this growing evil of wife desertion and divorce—this menace to the home and family.

Socialism would thus preserve the home and family by abolishing their chief enemy—capitalism. It would also realize the ideal marriage—the equal partnership of one man and one woman, and the ideal management of the home, a pure democracy, based upon mutual love, respect, and confidence.

CHAPTER IX

Socialism to Realize a Nobler Humanity

The present industrial system not only hinders men and women from attaining a nobler humanity, but in the great majority of cases it even hinders their seeing that any such ideal exists. If people live in the lower range of their being or at most touch life at a higher level only in some tentative sort of a way, it is not to be wondered at, for they must devote all their efforts to the struggle for existence. Their vision is limited to that immediately before them—the attainment of the physical necessities of life. Until these are supplied they can have no higher ideal. Their whole mental horizon is filled with the necessity of satisfying bodily needs. To illustrate, take a man in sickness. To him health is the highest ideal. His whole mental horizon is filled with the ideal of physical health. But when he recovers his health he then takes it as a matter of course, and soon finds that there is something beyond. As soon as he ceases to think about his health, his mental horizon is filled with other objects. So it is with all the material wants. As long as there is inadequate satisfaction of these wants, the majority of mankind will continue to regard their attainment as the chief end of life. The mass of men

Material Want Obscures Ideal

will not feel the need of higher things until they realize the satisfaction of the bodily necessities.

But even if the higher ideal is seen today, its attainment is thwarted by competitive industry. Men's conduct toward each other is primarily determined by their economic relations. The present system is one of economic antagonisms, in which the interests of every man are set against the interests of every other man. There is scarcely a field today where selfish interests begotten by a selfish system do not dominate. Just so long as men can advance their own interests at the expense of others, we need expect no great improvement. There is no use lamenting the condition so long as we retain a false organization of society. We ought not to expect the law of love to be practiced to any considerable extent under an environment of the law of strife. Men are not apt to serve their fellows when such service is injurious to themselves. The competitive struggle leaves but little margin for the practice of Christian virtues. It puts a premium upon vice and a ban upon morals. Socialism would make the interests of one identical with the interests of all, thus furnishing an environment conducive to the higher life. Selfishness is only possible when

Ideal Thwarted When Perceived

one man can gain at the expense of another. Socialism would make it impossible for one thus to gain, for the interests of all would be identical. Selfishness would then be seriously hindered, for no one could serve his own interests without serving others, or injure others without injuring himself. The present condition of all classes of society—whether the poverty and hardship of the poor, the worry and anxiety of the middle class, or the idleness and luxury of the rich—are fatal to a noble life.

The first requisite, then, for the realization of a nobler humanity, is the establishment of harmony in the industrial realm

Co-Operation

—the substitution of co-operation for competition. Surround men with an environment where their interests are mutual and the better conditions will inevitably produce a nobler humanity. Socialism is such an environment—a society of brotherhood where industry would be owned and managed for the common good. With the collective ownership of the tools, and a scientific organization of industry, three or four hours labor a day would be sufficient to supply the needs of all. With the physical necessities thus secured, time could be devoted to higher things—to living instead of struggling to live. Socialism would enable a man to supply his material needs without the absorption

of all his intellectual, moral and spiritual faculties. The time and energy thus freed could be devoted to higher things. If a man must use all his efforts merely to exist, he remains an animal—he must remain an animal. The struggle for meat leaves no time for the development of life. Socialism would emancipate men and women from the eternal grind and give them time and opportunity to seek higher things. The energy released from the economic struggle can proceed along higher lines.

The Ideal Realized

The Socialist offers the only effective method of uplifting society—the establishment of an environment favorable to the development of moral qualities. What a society this would be—a society of human brotherhood. What a contrast with the present inequalities—the butterfly life of the rich on the one hand and the sordidness of the slums on the other. Socialism would forever eliminate these shams which are part and parcel of our modern commercial life. This sordid commercialism has so perverted life's ideals that even those who have been successful in the struggle have failed to devote themselves to the higher life—the spoils of the present system have obscured the ideal of a nobler humanity. But this obstacle to progress will not forever remain. Competition will be sup-

planted by co-operation and humanity will then go forward by leaps and bounds. Socialism will furnish the conditions wherein morality and true religion can be practiced by all.

CHAPTER X
A New Social Spirit to Rule

Social conditions are the outcome of industrial conditions. As industry became more highly developed and completely organized and the division of labor more extended, the oneness of the life of society became more real, but society will not come to complete self-consciousness—a realization of the fact that it is an organism[4]—until the present system gives way to Socialism.

Society an Organism

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[4]There may be danger in describing society as an organism, especially if the analogy between the soul and bodily organism is carried to the extreme, but there is a truth here that can be expressed in no better way. While each individual has his own independent life within certain limits, still there is an interdependence and interrelation of each and all in modern society which is well expressed by the term "organism." But to identify the social organism with the State and claim for the State an independent existence over which the citizens have no power, as done by some, is to lead to error. Mr. Hillquit well says, "The State is not the voluntary and arbitrary creation of man, but it is just as little a factor imposed on man by some power outside of him. The State is the product of logical historical development. . . . The State has the power to regulate the conduct of its individual citizens, but its citizens have the power to determine the scope and nature of such regulations." (**Socialism in Theory and Practice**, p. 24.).

The public functions and social co-operation would make all conscious of their organic unity. With the dawn of this organic unity will appear a new social spirit.

Law of Service

The fundamental law of every living organism is the law of service—the law of love in action. Every organism possesses different organs having different functions, and every organ is composed of different cells, each having its own work to perform. If these organs and cells should adopt the motto, "Each for Itself," all would soon be destroyed.

Result of Disobedience

In the social organism, individuals constitute cells and social groups organs. When these cells and organs fail to recognize and be governed by the law of the organism, which is the law of service, of co-operation, then destruction results. The countless evils around us are disorders of this great body due to the parts working separately and competitively without a common object, instead of working together as a unity for the good of the whole. The social diseases, then, from which we suffer are due to a failure of individuals and groups to obey this law of the social organism. But it is impossible for the parts to obey this law in the present industrial conditions. Co-operation cannot exist be-

tween industrial cells and groups except by abandoning the principle of competitive industry. This the employing class are rapidly doing, but to be effective in removing the evils from which we suffer all must co-operate upon an equal footing in the production and distribution of wealth. This would necessitate a realization of the Socialist program—the collective ownership of the modern tools of industry.

Harmony Introduced

Socialism would introduce harmony into the industrial and social organism, the harmony that results from obedience to organic law. Anarchy and discord are anti-social, and result from the present anti-social system of industry. Socialism is the law of service and co-operation in action. The law of service can never be the fundamental law of either the individual or social life so long as the present system exists—all attempts to regenerate society under such conditions must necessarily fail. We need not expect the ideal of brotherly love to be realized in a system of antagonisms. Competition brutalizes men and negatives the highest instincts and aspirations. It turns the naturally kind and sympathetic into moral monsters. No, the spirit of love and harmony is not the outcome of the present industrial order; you cannot gather grapes from thorns nor figs from thistles. You cannot expect the qualities of love, tenderness,

helpfulness, sympathy and harmony to result from a system of competitive struggles for the necessities of life.

The Ethical Sanction

In this final organization of society, the highest rule of conduct, the ethical sanction, will consist in that which makes for cohesion and social well-being. The test of personal character will be the possession of social qualities and a zeal for definite social ends. All acts which militate against the collective well-being would immediately turn to the disadvantage of the individual himself, thus teaching him that such conduct is contrary to his own personal welfare. In an economy of equal opportunity, respect for the well-being of another is in accord with the egoism of the individual, because every act accorded to others inevitably reacts on the agent himself. In this future state of society, self-interest will be identical with social-interest—the interests of all will be the same. As we have seen, no one could serve his own interests without serving the interests of others, conversely, no one could injure others without injuring himself. Socialism would realize the solidarity of mankind and thus furnish the conditions wherein the higher life of service and brotherhood can be realized. Those who are endeavoring to realize the religious ideal should also work to establish conditions favorable to

that end. Socialism would realize the loftiest dreams and noblest ideals of the ages.

Socialism would realize a new social spirit—the spirit of love, brotherhood and fraternity will grow out of the common interests and mutual dependence of the new order.

CHAPTER XI
Concluding Arguments

We have considered only a few of the advantages that would result from the triumph of Socialism, but enough has been given to show the desirability of the change. Those who desire a better civilization should join the Socialist movement and aid in bringing in the better day. We have an ideal that satisfies the head and heart—one that is full of hope because certain of ultimate attainment.

Advantages Evident

Socialism is inevitable because the triumph of the proletariat class is inevitable, and the Socialist form of property in the instruments of production is the logical and inevitable outcome of the proletariat victory. The political dominion of the proletariat is irreconcilable with the continuance of the capitalist system—political mastery and economic servitude are antagonistic. The pressure of economic conditions in a proletariat regime would lead to Socialism, even if the workers were not previously familiar with the Socialist ideal. The capitalist could not profitably continue business under such conditions as the proletariat would be compelled to establish, and the proletariat could only secure its complete emancipation by making the great

Socialism Inevitable

instruments of production social property. The sooner the working class recognize this fact and consciously labor to this end, the sooner its emancipation will be achieved.

Socialists Forerunners of New Order

The Socialists are the forerunners of the new order, a sort of John the Baptists crying in the wilderness of capitalism that the day of social salvation is at hand, and pointing out to the working class the way to economic emancipation. Were the proletariat to gain political power through a mere labor revolution, without first learning the economic lesson, it would finally be taught it through the experience of political power, but it is fortunate that there are some who see the facts and can point them out to the working class in advance. This will save the proletariat much time and perhaps many bitter experiences. The laborers are beginning to see that Socialism is their only hope. As they realize this fact they will see that the Socialist ideal must also be the proletariat ideal, and will find in the Socialist party an instrument of their class for mastery of the public powers.

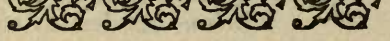
Socialist Duty

The Socialist, then, has a duty to perform; he must teach the proletariat its destiny and mission—its destiny to achieve political power; its mission to inaugurate the Co-Operative Commonwealth. When the Socialist movement is seen by the workers to

be primarily a proletariat movement, and when the proletariat movement is seen to have a Socialist ideal, then the laborers will see the futility of seeking the formation of other labor parties and will join the one already established on a world basis—the Socialist party.

The great struggle for a nobler humanity is on, and your place on election day and every other day of the year is in the ranks of the militant Socialists. It is your privilege to be a missionary of progress and civilization, to aid in establishing the golden age of peace, justice and plenty for all. There is no greater work to which you can consecrate yourself, and the field is ready for the harvest. Men are ready to move, show them the way. Carry to those of your fellows sitting in darkness the light of Socialist teaching. Proclaim aloud the gospel of emancipation—that there may be recruited one vast army of progress, marching step by step, side by side, shoulder to shoulder, to take possession of the promised land—the kingdom of social justice and righteousness.

Your Place



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